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Soviet Union

Vol III No 247

22 December 1978

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WARSAW PACT DECISIONS MIRROR NATO'S DISARMAMENT POSTURE

LD211341Y Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Dec 78 Morning Edition p 5 LD

[Article by IZVESTIYA political observer V. Matveyev: "Two Programs, Two Courses"]

[Text] The decisions of the May session of the NATO Council in Washington, confirmed at the recent conference of the bloc's leading organs in Brussels, and the declarations adopted by the Warsaw Pact countries at their Moscow conference--these are two opposite orientations in present-day international relations, two programs, two different courses.

The long-term--minimum of 5 years--program for steadily increasing military budgets, modernizing and stockpiling arms, enhancing combat readiness, deploying forces and military equipment in new areas and conducting maneuvers and military demonstrations on an ever wider scale: These are the NATO chiefs' guidelines adopted for implementation by NATO members.

The determination to impart new impetus to the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act as an integral whole and to reach an accord on specific measures and steps to develop cooperation and achieve genuine security on the European Continent and throughout the world, and the readiness to participate as actively and as vigorously as possible in solving major international problems, above all to seek a fundamental shift toward halting the arms race and supplementing detente in the political sphere with military detente--this is the consistent line of constructive socialist diplomacy graphically reflected in the Warsaw Pact countries' 23 November Moscow declaration.

These two documents reflect the conflicting trends in present-day international relations. The forces of extreme international reaction have proved incapable of preventing the move away from cold war toward easing tension. But, as recent events indicate, they are making feverish efforts to prevent the further development of the detente process, directing these efforts primarily against the positive changes that have taken place in Europe.

In order to achieve their narrow, mercenary ambitions both to maintain the fabulous profits from the manufacture and sale of arms and also to pursue an anticommunist strategy, the bellicose circles of imperialism are actually prepared to gamble with the destiny of universal peace.

Their attempts, by means of further acceleration of the arms race and alinement with the Peking leaders' great-power hegemonist line, to alter to their own advantage the current correlation of forces in the world should be viewed in this light. This is a return to the policy which led, soon after the end of World War II, to the breakdown of the cooperation among anti-Hitler coalition powers, which was then followed by a dangerous super-charging of tension which repeatedly brought mankind to the brink of nuclear conflict.

This, of course, is not the end of the forties but the end of the seventies. The present balance of forces rests on an impressive material foundation, that is, the mighty defense potential of the Soviet Union--the nucleus of the invincible forces of the Warsaw Pact as a whole. "The socialist countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact firmly oppose the policy of intensifying the arms race and attempts at military blackmail," the Moscow declaration points out. They proceed on the basis that the military balance in Europe and in the world at large should be maintained not by building up arms but by reducing them and by effecting a determined transition to real disarmament measures, particularly nuclear disarmament measures.

These are not merely words but concrete proposals addressed to the governments of the countries which signed the Final Act in Helsinki. [paragraph continues]

The Moscow declaration indicates several such proposals: on banning the use of nuclear weapons for all time, or as a beginning--renouncing first use of nuclear weapons against one another; on reducing military budgets; on not enlarging the Warsaw Pact and NATO; on restricting the scale of exercises by both sides in Europe to a level of 30,000-60,000 men; on extending confidence-building measures to the Mediterranean region; on guarantees of the nonuse of nuclear weapons against states not possessing such weapons; on the elimination of military bases on the territory of other countries; on not stockpiling troops and armaments on other states' territory; on the readiness to dismantle simultaneously the Warsaw Pact Organization and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; and on the possibility of holding talks on all aspects of the problem of ending the arms race, including on reducing those components of the two sides' combat potentials in Europe which are currently arousing concern on each side.

Among these measures, greatest importance is attached to the task of ending the nuclear arms race. The greatest threat to peace arises from the race in this sphere. This fact is now admitted everywhere. It is characteristic that even certain leaders of NATO countries are declaring the need to put an end to the buildup of nuclear arsenals. Serious concern was expressed on this point by Canadian Prime Minister P. Trudeau, who proposed as a first step a complete ban on the production of fissionable materials for military purposes.

However, nothing concrete is said in the documents agreed on within the NATO framework concerning disarmament or ending the nuclear arms race. On the contrary, the long-term program adopted by NATO sets the goal of "modernizing" the bloc's nuclear forces.

In an interview for the weekly VORWAERTS (FRG), Comrade L.I. Brezhnev noted that for defensive needs, approximate equality and parity suffice....

There is no type of weapon which the Warsaw Pact states would not be prepared to limit or reduce on the basis of strict maintenance of the principle of not harming any country's security.

But this is NATO's motto: There is no type of weapon which should not be built up rapidly, hence the program for increasing bloc countries' military budgets by 3 percent per year for at least the next 5 years. It is stressed that this increase must be in real terms, that is, taking into account the inflationary processes occurring in the West. This means that the NATO countries' total military budget for 1978 through 1983 will amount to at least $1 trillion. And after that the NATO bosses have the nerve to say that the bloc is "promoting the esolution of the problems of today's world". Do they think the pyramids of nuclear warheads are construction materials for erecting schools, hospitals and residential blocks?

The concluding communique of NATO's Military Planning Committee published 7 December refers to the "changing requirements of the eighties". But there is one requirement which the NATO chiefs ignore--defending and strengthening peace. In this respect mankind has entered a fundamentally new era, different from what has gone before. Lasting peace has become a really vital necessity. With respect to Europe this means the need to create a reliable material structure of all-European cooperation, for which purpose the countries of socialism are putting forward broad, businesslike proposals.

Chancellor B. Kreisky of Austria recently recalled one fact of considerable importance: The West European countries depend for almost 60 percent of their energy production on imports of necessary raw materials. [paragraph continues]

He also mentioned that, under the contract on electricity supplies signed by Austria and Poland in 1975, West Europe's energy network was for the first time ever plugged in to the CEMA countries' network. Kreisky urges the West to put forward specific proposals for cooperation with the socialist countries. Many responsible Western statesmen talk in this way, but these calls encounter hostile reception from NATO.

While new gas pipelines from the depth of the Soviet Union to the West are being laid and distant Siberia is heating the homes of ordinary Austrians, Italians and FRG citizens in accordance with mutually advantageous business contracts now concluded on a long-term basis, the NATO propaganda machine is continuing the lying campaign about the Soviet Union's "threatening intentions." George Kennan, prominent American scholar and former diplomat, has pointed out with complete justification that the public (in the West) has no possibility whatever of learning how the data regarding Soviet military might were obtained....

As a result of the Western diplomats' arbitrary approach to assessing the numerical strength of the Warsaw Pact's Armed Forces in central Europe, there has been no headway at the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in that region. Employing similar unscrupulous methods, the NATO bosses are attempting to elevate to the status of a "norm" the constant stepping up of the arms race within the framework of that bloc. The aforementioned NATO Military Planning Committee communique slanderously alleges that the Warsaw Pact countries may at any moment and anywhere mount offensive operations against Western Europe.

There have been blatant, totally false attempts to avoid responding positively to the peace initiatives forwarded in the Warsaw Pact states' Moscow declaration. The authors of these attempts cannot cover their political nakedness--which affects their attitude toward key international problems.

However, we are profoundly convinced that it is possible to curb the arms race and therefore to take a decisive step toward eliminating the threat of war. As before, this requires persistent efforts by all who are interested in preserving and strengthening universal peace. The combination of the enterprising line of resolving international problems through negotiations with a firm rebuff for any encroachments on the socialist countries' vital interests and a rebuff for any aggressive intrigues has insured and continues to insure the effectiveness of the socialist states' peace-loving policy. Initiative and firmness are two component parts of this policy line which it would be wrong to divorce from one another or to counterpose to one another.

This must be said in connection with the special position adopted by the Romanian comrades in the discussion at the Moscow Political Consultative Committee conference of certain questions connected with cooperation measures among the Warsaw Pact states in the defense sphere.

We advocate that rubles and dollars, zlotys and marks, leus and francs be spend entirely on peaceful purposes. But a solution here can be found only on a mutual basis. That is why, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has pointed out, we will not weaken our defense in the face of imperialism's growing military might, no matter what demagogic arguments are used to mask this exhortation. That would have irreparable consequences for the cause of socialism and the cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

Those who place their faith in force in international relations are deaf to good wishes and appeals. They are forced to take into account existing realities when they come up against corresponding opposition to their policy line.

An analysis recently prepared by the Brookings Institute in the United States contains curious evidence on this score. It points out that in the period 1946 through 1975, U.S. Armed Forces were on 15 occasions deployed "in support of political aims," including using nuclear threats. The report states that the United States has begun to use these threats more rarely as a result of the change in the balance of military forces.

The defense might of the Soviet Union, as indeed of the entire socialist community, has been and remains that important factor which the circles cherishing expansionist and aggressive plans must consider. Realistic Western politicians admit this.

Speaking in London recently, U.S. Secretary of State C. Vance indicated that the West must take into account the Soviet Union's determination not to lag behind in the military field.

While proposing to the West a program of military detente, the Moscow conference of the Political Consultative Committee also examined certain measures for collaboration among the Warsaw Pact states in the interests of their own defense in light of the new decisions taken by NATO to speed up armaments and on the further operational coordination of this bloc's armed forces under a single command.

The Western press is calling the decision to build in West Europe the new AWACS airborne early warning system, at a cost of $2 billion, "the biggest military contract in NATO's history." In his speech in London, Vance indicated that the United States had recently increased its armed forces in West Europe by 10,000 men. In January 1979 some 14,000 soldiers and new tanks subunits will be sent to West Europe from the United States to take part in NATO's largest winter maneuvers since 1973.

Finally, we must consider the fact that the NATO countries' military-industrial complexes are tending to display an increasingly favorable response to Peking's persistent demands for arms deliveries for the Chinese military machine. And this despite the fact that Peking does not conceal its flagrantly incendiary position with respect to the West European countries, pushing them into "all possible opposition" to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in Europe and speaking of "Europe as the arena of a new world war."

Those who like playing this risky game with the fate of peace should not delude themselves into thinking that the Soviet Union does not possess everything necessary to wreck adventurist schemes aimed against the interests of world peace.

Experience confirms the negative role of political iceberg which NATO, oriented toward war preparations and fueling tension, has played and continues to play in Europe. But the experience of recent years also attests to the possibility, through the united, purposeful efforts of the peace-loving forces, of advancing the fundamental normalization of the political climate on our continent. The socialist states will continue to develop these efforts for the sake of a guaranteed lasting peace and international security.

DEVELOPMENT OF ATOMIC POWER ENGINEERING IN USSR, CEMA

LD211852Y Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0730 GMT 21 Dec 78 LD

[Text] Moscow, 21 December, TASS--TASS commentator Ilya Maslennikov writes:

The implementing of the first stage of the most important example of Soviet atomic power engineering--the Volgodonsk Atommash works in southern Russia--opens up new, broad prospects for the successful development of atomic power engineering, not only in the Soviet Union, but in the other CEMA countries.

The enterprise's production capacities, just been put into operation, will insure an output of 3 million kilowatts by the up-to-date reactor equipment. A considerable step has thus been taken in implementing the program outlined by the 25th CPSU Congress for accelerated development of atomic power engineering. In the future, the capacities of this enterprise--which will produce equipment--will increase to 8 million kilowatts. The production of the atomic reactors will flow into the power potential of the CEMA member countries.

The accelerated development of atomic power engineering is one of the most important measures envisaged by the long-term program specifically drawn up for cooperation between the CEMA countries in the sphere of power, fuel and raw materials, which CEMA adopted in this summer. In accordance with this program, atomic power stations having a total capacity of 37 million kilowatts are planned in CEMA countries. In particular, it is planned to construct another two atomic power stations on the USSR's territory each with a capacity of 4 million kilowatts to transmit electricty to the countries of the socialist community. Power transmission lines with 750 kilovolts tension will be built. This will make it possible to transfer power from one country to another to peak load times.

New tasks have been determined regarding the international socialist distribution of labor in the sphere of atomic engineering. Last year, elaboration of a program for this industry's maximum possible development in CEMA countries to 1990 was completed. This program defines the basic directions for specialization and the coproduction of equipment for atomic power stations. In this, the experience in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the community regarding the construction of atomic power stations has been accounted for.

In accordance with the program, the Soviet Union is specializing in the production of power reactors in sets [komplekte], steam turbines and other units. Atommash will make a big contribution to this. Czechoslovakia will manufacture reactor installations, steam generators and other very complex equipment. One of the country's most powerful atomic power centers is being set up for this purpose on the basis of the Plzen V. I. Lenin Skoda engineering combine.

Other CEMA member countries are taking part in coproduction. Bulgaria plans to manufacture biological protection systems and accessory equipment, Hungary apparatus for operating the reactor and water purification equipment, and Poland diesel generators and volume compensators.

In all this, the USSR will continue to render technical assistance to fraternal countries in the construction of atomic power stations. The cooperation in power engineering among CEMA member countries is developing successfully within the framework of the comprehensive program of socialist economic integration.

U.S.-PRC NORMALIZATION

CSSR, HUNGARY, CUBA CRITICZE PRC-U.S. RAPPROCHEMENT

LD211709Y Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 78 p 5 LD

[TASS 19 December roundup: "The 'Card' Which They Are Intending to Play"]

[Text] Prague--RUDE PRAVO writes: By establishing diplomatic relations with the United States the Maoist leadership is striving to create an unfavorable atmosphere for detente and to exacerbate the contradictions between the United States and the USSR to a level according with Peking's hegemonist aspirations. It is precisely that which is the reality. It was not merely a question of establishing "normal diplomatic relations," despite all the verbal assurances; the main thing was to achieve the great-power aims of Maoism's heirs.

American imperialism is also pursuing its own interests. Diplomatic relations between the PRC and the United States are intended to create still better conditions for utilizing Peking as an instrument of American imperialism in the struggle against the progressive, democratic and national liberation movement throughout the world.

The United States, RUDE PRAVO stresses, is establishing diplomatic relations with the PRC at a period when Peking's attacks on the socialist countries and primarily Vietnam are assuming a particularly acute character. The establishment of U.S.-PRC diplomatic relations is taking place shortly after conclusion of a Chinese-Japanese treaty which definitely strengthened hopes among Pentagon stategists regarding the possibility of creating a Peking-Tokyo-Washington triangle--a triangle directly reflecting the great-power interests of imperialism and Maoism.

Budapest--MAGYAR HIRLAP notes: The Chinese leaders are certainly attempting to utilize the regularization of U.S.-Chinese relations for their anti-Soviet policy.

When the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries was announced President Carter declared that the United States has no intention of utilizing relations with China against the Soviet Union and that the establishment of diplomatic relations will not influence SALT. In contrast, Peking presented the regularization of Chinese-American relations as a success for activity aimed against the Soviet Union.

MAGYAR HIRLAP points out that within Washington's ruling circles there are forces which want to utilize the "Chinese card" against the Soviet Union. The mutually contradictory statements must prompt the Carter administration to be cautious since suspicion that Peking is utilizing its own "American card" has recently arisen among American commentator circles. Peking has already begun to play this "card" in the Southeast Asian region.

NEPSZAVA writes: The Peking leadership's statements leave no doubt that it is altogether striving to utilize the "American card" against the detente process and to play it for its own anti-Soviet purposes.

Havana--JUVENTUD REBELDE points out: In the last 10 years Peking's policy has invariably gone hand in hand with the actions of the world's most reactionary forces and has openly served imperialism's interests.

At the present time no NATO ally could yield the political advantage that Peking does for the American militarists. International imperialism is vitally interested in insuring that Peking strives, as before, to split progressive forces in the world and continues its unrestrained campaign of lies and slander against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

ARMS RACE, NOT OPEC TO BLAME FOR WEST'S ECONOMIC ILLS

LD211613Y Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Dec 78 LD

[Arkadiy Maslennikov article under general heading "OPEC Decision"]

[Text] The decision taken by OPEC is the result of the trade and monetary disorders that are affecting the world capitalist economy. Commenting on the results of the conference, Mani' ibn Sa'id al-'Utayba, chairman of the OPEC Ministerial Council, stated that the proposed increase in oil prices is "only a partial compensation" for the fall in the petroleum-exporting countries' income resulting from inflation, the fall of the dollar and other "negative factors."

According to existing assessments, in the period from 1973 through 1977 the OPEC countries lost about $27 billion as a result of these factors. In the light of these facts the statements currently being made in the West, particularly in the United States, that the OPEC decision does irreparable damage to programs for "restoring the world economy and reducing inflation" look like an attempt to shift the blame. The oil trade constitutes approximately 10 percent of all world trade, and the forthcoming increase in prices for this form of raw material, according to official U.S. circles, will increase inflation in that country by no more than 0.5 percent.

The true causes of inflation and the West's other economic ills are generally known. They consist in immense military expenditure and the unwillingness and inability of bourgeois governments to curb the monopolies' exploitative appetites. Of course, the increase in oil prices will hardly strengthen the position of, say, the American dollar. The latest reports from Tokyo, Paris, London and Zurich, where the biggest stock exchanges are located, indicate that the exchange rate for this currency has started to fall again. But the key to stabilizing the dollar, as to the normalization of the whole American economy, is to be found not in Abu Dhabi but in Washington.

To overcome the protracted depression and curb inflation in Western countries it is necessary not to fan a propaganda campaign against the OPEC members but to encourage equal, mutually advantageous economic cooperation between states and to renounce the ruinous arms race.

UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY DECLARES NAMIBIA ELECTIONS INVALID

LD221104Y Moscow TASS in English 0930 GMT 22 Dec 78 LD

[Text] New York, December 22, TASS--TASS correspondents Valentin Vasilets and Igor Makurin report: The UN General Assembly condemned the South African regime for holding unilaterally "elections" in Namibia contrary to the decisions of the Security Council and declared their results to be invalid. The resolution adopted at the plenary meeting of the Assembly calls upon UN member-states not to recognize any representatives or bodies established as a result of these elections, which were held by the racialists with the aim of placing in power its puppets in the unlawfully occupied country. The General Assembly condemned the Pretoria regime for repressions against the leadership of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), who were arrested on the eve of "elections" and demanded their immediate release. The refusal of the South African racialists to comply with the decisions of the Security Council providing for the holding of elections in Namibia under UN control is described in the document as a serious threat to international peace and security. The General Assembly declared for adopting effective sanctions against the South African Republic and with this aim addressed the Security Council with a request to examine the question of Namibia again so as to press Pretoria for the implementation of the UN decisions of the United Nations Organization. The General Assembly reaffirmed its full support for the armed struggle of the Namibian people under SWAPO led leadership for self-determination, freedom and national independence.

UNITED STATES

SOVIET-U.S. SCIENTIFIC, TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION LAUDED

LD119227 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 21 Dec 78 LD

[Text] Moscow, December 21, TASS--"The USSR and the United States have every prerequisite for developing broad and mutually advantageous cooperation. However, this is obstructed to a considerable extent by the restrictions existing in the United States on trade and exchange of technology with the Soviet Union," a TASS correspondent was told by Dzherman Gvishiani, vice-chairman of the State Committee of the USSR for Science and Technology.

Dzherman Gvishiani denied the intentions of definite U.S. circles that scientific and technical exchange benefits the Soviet side alone. The USSR possesses a powerful scientific-technical and economic potential, has everything necessary to solve any scientific problem without anyone's help, he said. However, even such countries as the USSR and the United States, which account for more than two thirds of the world volume of scientific research, find it difficult to conduct it with equal intensity in all fields. Hence, the objective necessity to pool the efforts which would promote a fruitful exchange of ideas, would allow to avoid irrational expenditures of strength and means. "It is precisely from this viewpoint that the Soviet-American scientific and technical cooperation should be assessed," Gvishiani stressed.

The USSR and the United States are cooperating in many spheres of science and technology, Gvishiani noted. Contacts are developing in power-engineering, exploration of the world ocean, protection of the environment, agriculture and transport. Soviet and American scientists are conducting, specifically, joint research into the problems of cardiovascular diseases, oncology. A program has been drawn up to develop Soviet-American artificial heart systems.

A joint program is being worked out to develop methods of forecasting earthquakes. Work is being conducted on 22 seismic stations in Tadzhikistan, Central Asia. An expedition has been carried out in the Pacific Ocean to study the processes of tsunami origin and spreading. Successfully under way is the Soviet-American experiment in the magnetohydrodynamic generation of energy.

SOLTAN SCORES U.S. OIL MONOPOLIES ON PRICE INCREASES

LD211806Y Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 21 Dec 78 LD

[Yuriy Soltan commentary]

[Text] OPEC's decision to increase oil prices by 14.5 percent next year has provoked a storm of reaction in the United States. The oil-producing countries are being blamed for practically all the ills affecting the U.S. economy. There is an expectation here of a new jump in prices--not only on petroleum products but on practically all goods. People are noting the inevitability of further inflation and that a new slump in production in the United States is increasingly becoming a reality.

Behind this whole campaign one clearly senses the guiding hand of the American oil monopolies, which would like to use the present situation to raise the prices of their products, escape from any form of state control and increase their profits. One can see a repetition of what happened in the winter of 1973-1974, when those same oil monopolies shamelessly robbed the American people, using as an excuse the energy crisis they had artificially created.

It has been revealed here that the "seven sisters"--as the seven major oil corporations are called--bought large quantities of oil throughout the summer, while at the same time they reduced the sales of oil on the domestic market in anticipation of an increase in oil prices. This fall the oil monopolies succeeded in having the ceiling on natural gas prices lifted. And in response to their pressure, the administration and Congress are preparing another bill that will remove the ceiling on the price of petroleum products, too.

But without the permission of Congress, and circumventing the system of controls still operating, the oil corporations over the next 6 months will make an extra $4.5 billion in profits just from illegal price-raising. Another sharp rise in the cost of petroleum products--and therefore of other goods in the United States--in the new year has become inevitable. Fresh profits amounting to billions of dollars will flow into the coffers of the oil monopolies. And those bearing the burden of these profits will be millions of Americans before whom the specter of (?ruin) is already flickering.

FIGURES ON U.S. ARMED FORCES STATIONED ABROAD REPORTED

LD191412Y Moscow TASS in English 1245 GMT 19 Dec 78 LD

[Text] Washington, December 19, TASS--There are more than 494,000 U.S. officers and men outside the limits of the United States today. American military personnel is stationed in 114 countries, mandate territories, on the seas and oceans. In 1978 the United States increased the numerical strength of its troops abroad by 11,400 men. These figures are given by the weekly U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT.

Stationed in Western Europe today are 330 thousand U.S. officers and men, and 138,000 in the Far East and the Pacific area.

Despite the fact that the United States has announced the beginning of a withdrawal of its ground forces from South Korea, actually their numerical strength there in December 1978 was fifteen hundred more than a year before that. Furthermore, the United States reinforced its airforce in South Korea, where another 12 F-4 warplanes were sent in November 1978.

PRC ROLE IN U.S. ANTICOMMUNIST STRATEGY DISCUSSED

OW211333Y Moscow in Mandarin to China 0900 GMT 19 Dec 78 OW

[Volodin commentary: "China's Role In U.S. Global Strategy"]

[Text] Dear listeners: Sino-U.S. relations have been widely discussed by the Western press lately. U.S. observers who comment on the establishment of Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations have underlined the diplomatic success of the United States.

Recently, a book written by (Kuzlin) entitled "China's Role in the U.S. Imperialist Strategy" was published in the USSR. The author worked in the United States for years and studied the evolution of the views of some U.S. bourgeois scientists, public figures and statesmen regarding China's role in international affairs. The book is based entirely on U.S. information and fully relects the U.S. imperialist plot against China.

According to the author, the United States, acting as a leader of the imperialist forces, is doing its utmost to undermine world socialism and all revolutionary forces by using the present Chinese leaders' policy.

Since the founding of the PRC, the U.S. imperialist policy toward China has been--quoting the words of former Secretary of State Acheson--"to arouse nationalism in China." For this purpose, in 1950 some U.S. organizations spread the rumor of a "Soviet threat against China." In late 1960, the Peking official propaganda machine picked up this provocative and speculative slander as a weapon.

"China's Role in the U.S. Imperialist Strategy" explains the specific methods which the United States has adopted in influencing China, methods which have been changing according to China's domestic situation and foreign policy. During the first decade after the PRC's founding, the U.S. ruling clique was openly hostile to China and applied military, economic and ideological pressure on China. The United States also occupied Taiwan and signed the so-called U.S.-Chiang mutual defense treaty. It hindered the PRC from joining the United Nations, imposed a trade embargo on China and enforced other similar blockades. When China began to betray Marxism-Leninism and take an anti-Soviet stand, particularly during the Great Cultural Revolution, the U.S. ruling class changed its attitude toward China and a new viewpoint gradually took shape.

There have been basically three kinds of viewpoints espoused by American China experts during the sixties and the seventies on U.S. policy toward China. Each viewpoint represents a class interest of various groups of the U.S. bourgeoisie. Those who maintain the first viewpoint are referred to as "neo-leftists" by some American journals. They resolutely stand for complete normalization of U.S.-China relations as soon as possible so that the United States can have the opportunity to exert a "favorable" influence on China. Many among this group lavish praise on Maoism, regard Peking's nationalist policy as patriotic and refer to the Great Cultural Revolution as the movement to combat bureaucratism and revisionism.

The advocates of the second viewpoint are more influential because they call for working to preserve and stir up Sino-Soviet tension. They resemble the "neo-leftists" in criticizing previous U.S. policy toward China. For instance, they point out that the U.S. policy of enforcing political and economic blackades on China was fruitless because China received assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Meanwhile, there are people in this second group who favor the current U.S. policy toward China and who call for adopting the old policy of nuclear deterrence under the new circumstances. For instance, the famous scientist Morganthau and Senator [name indistinct] that nuclear deterrence be enforced in places not directly bordering on China. Some exponents of nuclear deterrence toward China deem it necessary to strengthen the economic and military role of some nonsocialist Asian countries neighboring China, particularly Japan.

American politicians and China experts who maintain the third viewpoint are generally referred to as (?fundamentalists) who advocate a stronger policy toward China. They deem the 1950's policy of openly pressuring China as correct for that actually brought about the Peking leaders' ideological and political capitulation. For instance, Congressman [name indistinct] said that this policy should be highly commended because it played an active role in causing confusion and deterioration of the Chinese regime.

We have pointed out that the second group of people exert the widest influence in the United States. They advocate contacts with China while blockading and applying pressure on it. The main objective of the imperialists' diplomacy has always been to incorporate China into their global anticommunist strategy.

PRC'S 'HEGEMONISTIC' POLICY TOWARD SRV, CAMBODIA SCORED

LD202352Y Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 20 Dec 78 LD

[Text] The Chinese news media have launched a new anti-Vietnamese campaign, spreading allegations that Vietnam has been carrying out aggressive actions. Refuting these allegations, our correspondent reports this from the Sino-Vietnamese border:

The Chinese side regularly attacks the territory of Vietnam with machinegun and mortar fire. In some places artillery of different caliber is used. China's planes fly over Vietnam border regions and its boats cross into the territorial waters of Vietnam. There are also many facts showing that China is stepping up its military interference in Kampuchea. Its transport ships deliver military equipment and war materials and its advisers are practically in full charge of the military operations of the troops of the Phnom Penh regime. Very often Chinese pilots fly in planes with Kampuchea's identification marks. There can be no doubt that the slanderous propaganda campaign and all other activities are carried out by Peking according to a general plan. The Peking leadership pursues its hegemonistic and expansionist objectives in Southeast Asia, objectives that run counter to the interests of the people in that region.

SOVIET TV DOCUMENTARY ON FAILURES OF MAOISM DISCUSSED

LD211744Y Moscow TASS in English 1714 GMT 21 Dec 78 LD

[Text] Moscow, December 21, TASS--The TASS commentator, Yuriy Sergeyev, writes:

"Maoism: China's Tragedy" is a title of a new documentary TV film shown on the Central Television of the USSR today. Its authors are the journalist Kao Lin-wei and the producer Aleksey Gabrilovich. This is an acute publicistic picture, exposing Maoism, the reactionary teaching and political system, which has become a curse for the Chinese people.

The impressive film shots and photo documents (many of them shown for the first time) survey the long and terrible road to the "summit of power" of Mao Tse-tung, the founder of Maoism. The television screen shows what Maoism brought to the people of China: the destruction of the fruits of the victory of the people's revolution, terror and rightlessness, hard life full of sorrow and suffering, calamities and privation.

Over two years have passed since the death of Mao Tse-tung, but the Chinese tragedy continues. The heirs of Mao, who seized power in fratricidal struggle, promised to the people to remedy the situation so that life would become easier. Following along the road of Mao Tse-tung, however, it is impossible to get rid of the grave heritage of Maoism. It is with sorrow and pain that the film "Maoism: China's Tragedy" tells of the dark night still hanging over a great country, a great people.

The shots of the film, which exposes the dangerous essence of the nationalistic, great-power foreign policy of the present Maoist leaders of China, are alarming. This course rests entirely on the militaristic, adventuristic dogmas of Maoism. It is permeated with the striving for world hegemony, justification of military provocations against China's neighbours. Mao Tse-tung's bequest "we must conquer the world" resounds sinisterly in the film. The present revelations of Hua Kuo-feng and other Peking leaders mingle with this quest for world domination like a sinister echo.

The new Soviet documentary "Maoism: China's Tragedy" has been produced with heartfelt sympathy for the Chinese people, who are experiencing a very difficult period in their history. At the same time this acute publicistic picture warns all: "China's tragedy must not be allowed to become mankind's tragedy."

KOMMUNIST RESPONDS TO FRENCH COMMUNISTS' 'DISTORTED' BOOK

LD211830Y Moscow TASS in English 1705 GMT 21 Dec 78 LD

[Text] Moscow, December 21, TASS--Follows the full text of an article by Soviet authors E. Ambartsumov, F. Burlatskiy, Y. Krasin, E. Pletnev, entitled "Against Distortion of the Experience of Real, Existing Socialism", in the 18th issue of the magazine KOMMUNIST of the CPSU CC.

Not long ago a book by French communists entitled "The U.S.S.R. and Ourselves" was put out in France (Alexandre Adler, Francis Cohen, Maurice Decaillot, Claude Frioux, Leon Robel, L'URSS et Nous Paris, Editions Sociales, 1978, 223 pp).

The appearance of the book was accompanied by a noisy publicity campaign which continues to this day.

What is it all about?

The authors themselves say their purpose in writing the book was to give a "coherent conception" of the Soviet Union and "reveal the general direction in which Soviet society is moving".

We, Soviet communists and specialists in different areas of the life of Soviet society have read the book carefully, and, since it deals with our country and the activity of our party, we consider it necessary with all frankness to express our opinion about it, and we deeply regret having to conclude that, whatever the subjective intentions of its authors, the book gives a distorted picture both of the history of the rise and development of socialism in our country and of Soviet society today.

In examining the past and the present of the Soviet Union and the international influence of real, existing socialism, the authors, even though they lay claim to being objective, actually adopt an ambivalent, ambiguous position. There are passages that simply reveal their incompetence, their lack of knowledge of the life of our country and people. As a result, the book is not objective and is in many respects untruthful.

On the one hand, in many parts of the book, in particular in the concluding section, one finds scattered passages in which the authors recognize or half-recognize Soviet achievements (now well known to the whole world) and the salutary influence exercised by the Soviet Union on humanity as a whole, on the struggle for peace and social progress. On the other hand, the book abounds in assessments and formulations of a negative order, built, morever, on abstract constructions or on random facts taken out of the context of Soviet life and therefore devoid of real meaning.

The Soviet Union and the socialist community are, as they have always been, the main obstacle to the forces of war and aggression, the bulwark of social progress the world over. This is well enough understood by the enemies of the working class, who are bending every effort to counteract the force of attraction of communist ideals, to denigrate the world's first socialist country, and to discredit the Soviet people's signal achievements.

Why the Revaluation of Values?

The authors of "The U.S.S.R. and Ourselves" proceed from what they say is the need felt by the French communists to make a "new" appraisal of the Soviet Union and its role in the present-day world, or, to be more exact, a revaluation of values. Why do they consider such revaluation necessary? Why do they think the French communists should change their opinion about the Soviet Union?

The main reason, they maintain, is that the French Communist Party began, in particular at its 22nd Congress in February 1976, to define "its own original road to socialism." Delineation of this road, in their opinion, requires "knowledge and study of the experience of already existing socialism so as to learn from it, either drawing on it or discarding it." It is in this connection that the authors raise the question of reappraising the experience of the U.S.S.R., which they admit "has played a leading role in the international movement towards socialism."

But every communist party has always taken careful note of the positive experience accumulated by other fraternal parties in the struggle for socialism with an eye to what is useful to the given party and what is not. This was always done also by the French Communist Party. Endorsement of the activity of the CPSU did not prevent it from creatively assessing international experience in the struggle for socialism and advancing new ideas in the spheres of both the theory and practice of the struggle for socialism in its own country. In doing so the French Communists never sought to set their ideas and concepts against the experience of other communist parties, or, in the guise of upholding their own views, to attack the views and practical activity of other communist parties.

We do not propose to analyze the course adopted by the 22nd Congress of the French Communist Party. That is its internal affair, and it is for the French Communists alone to judge of the successes or failures of this course.

Explaining why it is necessary to "reassess" the experience of the U.S.S.R., the authors say that in the West there are two diametrically opposite conceptions of the U.S.S.R. "One of them, that of the dominant ideology and the mass media, is the conception of the intrinsic evil (of the U.S.S.R.); the other, inherited by the communists from the past, is the conception of the absolute good" (p.10). And so, what is to be done is to work out "a conception of the U.S.S.R. as it really is."

In explaining their object, the suthors, if we have understood them right, openly proclaim a search for some sort of middle course between the conception frankly hostile to socialism on class grounds which prevails in bourgeois propaganda, and the conception "inherited from the past."

In their search for some middle-of-the-road position with regard to the U.S.S.R., the authors have seen fit to revaluate to a considerable extent the past activity of the French Communist Party, which ever since its foundation, often in the most difficult conditions of rampant anti-Sovietism, courageously spoke out in defense of the truth about the first country of socialism. Unofrgettable are the truly historic speeches, books and articles of such eminent French public and party leaders as Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Maurice Thorez, Jacques Duolos, Marcel Cachin, Paul Vaillant-Couturier, Georges Cogniot, Fernand Grenier, Pierre Courtade, and many others. In the stifling atmosphere of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, which was whipped up by the class enemy in the past as well, their pronouncemnts were like a fresh breeze; they opened for the French Communists, democrats, for all the working people of France, broad horizons and inspired more than one generation of fighters for the radiant ideals of freedom, equality and brotherhood of all mankind.

Moreover--and here we must take issue with the attempt of the authors of the book to pose as "the first realists" in judging the U.S.S.R.--all the above-mentioned people who wrote about the Soviet Union in the recent past were by no means naive. No, they saw the tremendous achievements of the Soviet Union, the problems and difficulties confronting it, and the mistakes it had to contend with. But they approached all this from the positions of the working class, of the working people, who saw the great benefit for themselves in what the October Revolution has accomplished in building socialism in the U.S.S.R.--and this is the main, the most important thing.

Incidentally, the authors of "The U.S.S.R. and Ourselves" used to be among the supporters of the "absolute good" conception. Only a few years ago Francis Cohen published the books "The U.S.S.R. in Development" and "Soviet People," and a series of articles on the development of socialist democracy in the U.S.S.R. Nor is it so long ago that Maurice Decaillot's book "The Socialist Mode of Production" appeared, as did books by other co-authors of the work under review dealing with various aspects of the social and cultural life of our country. All these writings expressed profound sympathy with the U.S.S.R., stressed the importance of the experience of real socialism, gave an objective, truthful (and, let us add, by no means primitive) characterization of processes under way in our country.

What has caused such a radical turn in the thinking of Francis Cohen and his co-authors? Perhaps in these few years there has been a fundamental change in the Soviet Union, its internal or foreign policy? Of course not. The authors themselves do not suggest anything of the kind. On the contrary, on many pages of the book there are references to the "positive evolution" of the Soviet Union in recent decades.

The authors admit that it is their own views, their own attitudes to the Soviet Union, that have changed. How this sudden change has come about we do not undertake to judge. What is clear is that it coincided with the sharply intensified anti-Soviet campaign mounted by the class enemy and with the stepped-up ideological pressure exerted by bourgeois and reformist propaganda on the French Communist Party itself. Only a short while ago the French Communist Party clearly perceived the purpose of the anti-Soviet propaganda of the class enemy. Only four years ago, in connection with the anti-Soviet campaign launched by the bourgeoisie, a plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee issued a special statement calling upon all French communists and democrats vigorously to expose this campaign. "What are the aims of the anti-Soviet campaign?" the statement said. "Above all, it seeks to discredit existing socialism so as to sow doubts as to the possibility and the value of socialism in our country, to shake the faith of manual and mental workers in changes capable of improving their lot. The purpose of the campaign is also diversive, to divert attention from the disastrous consequences of the crisis and monopoly policy for the majority of the French people.

"Its object is to isolate the working class and its party, to frighten the peasants, intellectuals, democrats, Christians away from alliance with the revolutionary working people." The meeting noted that "the truth about socialism, about its experience and its quests, about its movement to ever higher levels of well-being and democracy is a great force of progress, inasmuch as it is a source of confidence in the future."

A valid assessment indeed! The anti-Soviet propaganda campaign has not waned since then.

On the contrary, it must be noted that recent years have witnessed an unprecedented intensification of anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda in France. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois press in that country is increasingly echoing the worst sterotypes of anti-Soviet propaganda. It may even be said that some French bourgeois press organs have launched a veritable psychological war against the U.S.S.R. and real socialism as a whole.

Needless to say, this cannot but influence one or another section of the population and party, even some representatives of progressive public opinion.

The anti-Soviet propaganda boom, then, is the context in which "The U.S.S.R. and Ourselves" appeared. And if there is such a boom, and there undoubtedly is, the prime, elementary responsibility that devolves on writers about the Soviet Union is to decide for themselves what place they wish to occupy in the current ideological struggle--whether resolutely to counter the flood of defamation and slander with the truth about the Soviet Union, or, for one or another reason, try to play another role, for instance, to take over some things from this flood and reject others? It is easy to see that the latter approach places its adherents in a highly equivocal position.

There is another rather important question readers are likely to ask. At the present time, when such problems as how to get rid of unemployment, inflation, the constant fear of losing one's job, and what to do to defend one's economic and political interests are exercising the minds of the working class, of all working people in France, it is impossible to understand why such a vociferous campaign should be mounted around the history and development of the U.S.S.R.

Arguments Woven of Contradictions

Only a year ago our country observed the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Progressives the world over, including the French Communist Party, joining in marking this momentous occasion, stressed the great accomplishments which, despite all the difficulties and obstacles, the Soviet people had achieved. And now we have five French communists giving a crooked-mirror picture of the history of the Soviet land that totally distorts the proportions between the historical achievements of the Soviet peoples and the objective, and also subjective, problems and difficulties encountered on our path.

A "history woven of contradictions" is how the authors describe the historical path traversed by the Soviet Union. What other history, it may be asked, could there have been of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism in a country at a medium level of development, the first to have carried out a victorious socialist revolution? What other history could there have been when the internal counter-revolution unleashed the bitterest of civil wars? If world imperialism employed every means--military, economic, political and ideological--to launch a ferocious onslaught (which they are still continuing) against the peoples heroically giving effect to what the authors of the book casually term "the first socialist experiment"?

Yes, the Russian bourgeoisie and international capital plunged the Soviet working people the working class of our country, into the gravest of ordeals. Yes, the Soviet people paid heavy price for the complete destruction of capitalism and the victory of the new system. This price includes the millions that perished in the Civil War unleashed by the bourgeoisie, and the more than 20 million who fell in the war against fascism, that monstrous creation of the capitalist system.

All these sacrifices were made by the Soviet people not only for the sake of their own freedom and independence, for the sake of socialism in our country. These sacrifices were made also for the sake of the freedom of the peoples of Europe, including France, the peoples of Asia, of the entire world. The victory over fascism ensured favourable conditions for the triumph of socialism in a number of countries, it created the most auspicious conditions for the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, for the struggle for democracy and social progress in the developed capitalist countries.

The authors do mention the significance of the victory of the U.S.S.R. in the war against fascism. It must be said, however, that the mention is cursory, only a page and a half of the thick volume being devoted to this epic exploit of the Soviet people.

Moreover, the emphasis is placed not so much on the triumph of the Soviet socialist system as on "patriotism in general." The stamina of the Soviet fighting men, for instance, is attributed to the traditional capacity of the Russians, Ukrainians, Kazakhs, etc., for suffering. A curious slant indeed, one that smacks rather of something like a race approach and is devoid of the class analysis of social phenomena that should come naturally to communists.

In vain one searches in the book also for any commendation of the Soviet people for their heroic labours in peaceful construction and their staunch struggle for the triumph of the common ideals of socialism. Instead there are endless lamentations about the struggles besetting the path of socialism in the U.S.S.R. having prevented it from acquiring what the authors consider the ideal image.

Such an approach to our history cannot but be taken as an insult to the Soviet people, who indeed endured grim ordeals, cherishing in their hearts the dream of communism not only for themselves but for all the peoples of the world.

As we see it, in treating our history the authors of the book lost sight of the most important criteria for evaluating the historic achievements of international socialism and the difficulties it has encountered. While recognizing what is common knowledge--that the October Revolution put an end to domination by capitalists on one-sixth of the globe and ushered in the epoch of mankind's transition to socialism--the authors nevertheless qualify our revolution as some "traumatic upheaval." Such discourses obscure what the October Revolution has really meant for the people of our country.

Not that the authors overlook this completely. They talk about the industrial progress in the Soviet Union, the abolition of social and national oppression, the emancipation of women, etc, but all this, we repeat, is mentioned only in passing, while the emphasis is placed on something altogether different, in particular on the unwarranted repressions of the thirties connected with the personality cult, to which the authors return again and again. Moreover, as in other connections, the authors' arbitrary conclusions and computations overshadow the crucial fact that our party on its own initiative exposed and condemned the personality cult and the violations of legality, of the principles of Soviet democracy, connected with it. Well aware of the adverse consequences such frank selfcriticism could have, the CPSU did so in order to guarantee the country against the repetition of anything of the kind in the future. It did so also in order that all the communist and workers' parties in the world could draw the necessary lessons from this and avoid similar phenomena in the future.

The manner in which the authors of the book under review treat the period of the personality cult, the very way they present the relevant material, is designed to create the impression that they are well-nigh the "trail blazers" in this respect. What was truly frank and far more profound was the criticism of the personality cult by our party at its 20th and subsequent congresses, in the well-known decision of the CPSU Central Committee of June 30, 1956, as well as in speeches by Leonid Brezhnev and other leaders of the party.

We should like to recall, for the benefit of those French communists who might not know about them, certain CPSU and French Communist Party documents of that period.

The above-mentioned June 30 decision of the CPSU Central Committee gave a clear answer to questions as to the reasons for the emergence, the character of the manifestations and the essence of the Stalin personality cult and its consequences.

The decision gave a balanced appraisal of the activity of J.V. Stalin at the head of the party in a period when the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. proceeded in the incredibly difficult conditions of backwardness, economic dislocation, a hostile capitalist encirclement and constant threat of attack from without. The general line of the party came under vicious attacks from opportunists and factionalists from the left and the right. All this called for the strictest discipline and a high degree of vigilance. Under heavy attack by imperialist powers, Soviet society had to impose certain temporary restrictions on democracy, which were lifted as the Soviet state grew stronger and as the forces of socialism and democracy developed in the world as a whole. But in this period, too, socialism continued to be built in the U.S.S.R. and the country's might grew, all of which was of enormous importance also for the victory over Nazi Germany. In these very years tremendous achievements were registered in creating of the material and technical base of socialism, in promoting education, science and culture, and in improving the life of the Soviet people.

Contrary to the allegations of the enemies of socialism, the personality cult was unable to disrupt the operation of the objective laws governing the socialist system of society, it did not alter the profoundly democratic, truly popular character of the system or the leading role in it of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party.

In his report to the 14th Congress of the French Communist Party in July 1956, a few months after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, General Secretary Maurice Thorez voiced on behalf of the party full agreement with the above-mentioned decision of the CPSU Central Committee.

"The frank and courageous criticism on this question was added striking evidence of the strength of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the stability of the Soviet system," he said (Maurice Thorez, Selected Works, State Political Literature Publishers, Moscow, 1959. Vol. 2, p. 355). Further, exposing the hysterical campaign launched by the bourgeoisie to sow confusion in the ranks of the communists, Thorez, to the stormy applause of the congress delegates, stressed: "The confidence reposed by the working people of France in the first socialist state in history and its communist party, far from having been shaken, has been further strengthened by the courage and the lofty political qualities demonstrated in this connection by our Soviet comrades."

And the present general secretary of the French Communist party, Georges Marchais, replying to those who sought to distort the history of Soviet society by speculating on the events connected with the personality cult, rightly pointed out in his book "The Democratic Challenge" published in 1973: "What other movement, what government, what party has ever in history publicly criticized its own mistakes as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other communist parties have done? And is it not to the credit of socialism that the very development of socialist society led to the rectification of these serious mistakes and is leading at the present time to a search for everything that broadens democracy and heightens responsibility?" (Georges Marchais, Le Defi Democratique, Grasset, Paris, 1973, pp. 166-167)

What, then, has happened in the past few years to have induced the five French authors to cast doubts on the replies which were given nearly a quarter of a century ago, also by the French Communist Party?

What was the purpose at this particular time (a strange coincidence!), when bourgeois propaganda is going all out to denigrate socialism, of depicting the history of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. as something dark and sinister.

For that is precisely how the entire prewar period of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. is presented in the book under review.

Speaking of the thirties, the authors say practically nothing about the fact that in these years a powerful socialist economy was being created, that socialism was being built, that the working masses of our country were making history in all areas of life, that the socio-political and economic rights of Soviet people were being broadened. Had the entire history of the U.S.S.R. in these years been confined to the personality cult and its consequences, how is the mass heroism of the Soviet people in the last war, the selflessness with which they defended their Soviet homeland, to be explained? The point, however, is, and the authors concede this in the introduction to the book, that this heroism, this self-sacrifice, constituted a great nationwide vote of confidence in the socialist system of society, the Soviet state, the policy of the communist party.

In the light of these well-known facts the criticism in the book of the "return to Leninist norms" is astounding, to say the least. It is interpreted as implying a return by the CPSU "to what was twenty-five years ago." All this sounds strange indeed coming from people who are supposed to know something about Leninism and our country. Do they really not know that for our party, for our country, the Leninist norms are not only and not so much a matter of history as the immutable code of socialist democracy, that these norms are naturally applied in practice with due account taken of the new conditions, in conformity with the creative approach that lies at the heart of Leninism.

In a number of passages the authors dissociate themselves from the positions of Solzhenitsyn and other "dissident-type" opponents of socialism among other things as regards the personality cult. However, the book leaves one with the depressing impression that the authors wittingly or unwittingly have viewed Soviet reality not with their own eyes but through the coloured spectacles of anything but friends of socialism.

In search of a Nonexistent "Crisis"

Having distorted the proportions of light and shade in characterizing our country's past, the authors of "The U.S.S.R. and Ourselves" proceed to apply the same approach to its present and, to some extent, also to its future. Space does not allow us to examine in detail all the postulations of the book as regards the development of the economy, social relations and culture in the U.S.S.R. Nor is there any need to do so. For the point is not one or another fact, one or another judgment, but the authors' overall approach to analysis of Soviet reality, their interpretation of the social and economic nature and the political system of Soviet society.

This approach is particularly clearly manifest in the closing section of the book, where the authors pose two crucial questions that in effect bring to a focus the entire case presented in the preceding sections. Question one: "Is Soviet society in crisis?" Question two: "Is the U.S.S.R. socialist?"

That bourgeois propaganda has long been searching in vain for signs of some sort of crisis of Soviet economy and even of Soviet society as a whole is common knowledge. Clearly the object is to justify the state of affairs in the countries of developed capitalism, the deepseated crisis of which is something no one doubts. Who it is that casts "doubts" as to the socialist character of Soviet society is also well known. We have long been hearing this refrain from the right-wing social democrats, and lately it has been persistently and unsuccessfully trumpeted by propagandists from Peking.

What is curious and surprising is that, while posing the above questions now, the group of French communists take the rather equivocal course of evading a direct answer to them.

Let us begin with the question of the "crisis" of the Soviet economy and Soviet society as a whole.

How is it manifested? "It must frankly be said", the author writes, "that the world 'crisis' is not improper if it is used to denote a period when internal contradictions mature but are not resolved...in this sense, if you wish, it is permissible to speak of a crisis in the U.S.S.R...." (p. 206). This, true, is followed by the reservation that no analogy should of course be seen between the crisis in the U.S.S.R. and the crisis of capitalism. But this reservation does not save the situation.

For the concept "crisis" has a long-established, clear-cut, concrete meaning. A crisis in the economy, for instance, implies a falling-off of production, unemployment, shortage of resources, etc. Can anything of the kind be said about the Soviet economy? Of course not. And so the authors have recourse to the simple expedient of demonstratively declining to "cite figures", and lay claim to be taking a "critical view" without reference to "quantitative indicators". "We shall not engage in quantitative measurement of the results of growth", the authors say. "Our object is different--to ascertain the direction in which society is developing".

It is legitimate to ask how can the "direction in which society is developing" be ascertained without taking into consideration the facts characterizing this development. Ignoring the objective indicators of economic development offers wide opportunities for passing arbitrary judgments on the Soviet national economy. Precisely this enabled the authors to arrive at the gloomiest, most dismal conclusions about a "crisis".

We shall take the liberty of remaining true to the generally accepted scientific method of analyzing economic problems on the basis of objective indicators. And it must be said that these indicators afford a "picture of the development of society" that is altogether different from that drawn by the authors.

It is an incontrovertible fact that in the U.S.S.R., real, existing socialism, has registered high and stable rates of economic development. Over the past quarter century the average annual rate of growth of the national income in our country has been more than double that in the most advanced capitalist country, the United States, which has experienced neither war on its own territory nor economic blockade. Whereas at the beginning of the First Five-Year-Plan period we put out 40 per cent less industrial production per capita than the world average, today we produce more than three times that average. At present the Soviet Union's industrial output is greater than that of all the West European countries taken together. Indicative of signal achievements in science and technology is the fact that our country pioneered in space flights and is now demonstrating impressive accomplishments in this sphere. The current, Tenth Five-Year-Plan period has been marked by the continued dynamic and stable growth of all branches of the national economy.

Since the authors of the book under review did not find it necessary to examine the objective situation as regards the growth of labour productivity in Soviet industry in the past or the immediate outlook in this respect, we shall recall the fact that in 1971-77 productivity of labour increased by 44 per cent in construction. Overall growth of productivity accounted during the Seventh Five-Year-Plan period for 62 per cent of the total increase in industrial production, under the Eighth Five-Year Plan, for 73 per cent, and under the 9th, for 84 per cent. Rather curious manifestations of economic "crisis", are they not?

True, the authors do not confine themselves to the problem of the growth of production. They apparently see the principal manifestation of the "crisis" of the Soviet economy in production in the U.S.S.R. allegedly being not subordinated to the interests of the working people, but being conducted for its own sake. Let us again turn to the facts.

And the facts are these. About three quarters of the Soviet Union's national income goes for consumption. If spending on housing construction and on meeting social and cultural needs is included, roughly four-fifths of the national income of the Soviet land is channelled to improving popular well-being. This makes it plain that the Soviet socialist economy is primarily geared to satisfying the requirements of the working people, to serving the people's interests.

The aim of socialist production is to heighten the material and cultural standards of life of the masses. This objective is pursued constantly and steadfastly in our country. This is evident from the growth year after year of the real income of the population of both town and countryside, a growth accompanied by a steady reduction of the gap between the low-and higher-paid categories of the working people.

And is that trend of development not evident from the steady increase of payments and benefits to the population from the public consumption funds? For instance, in 1971-75, in conformity with the directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, pensions, allowances, scholarship grants and other payments from public consumption funds were increased for some 40 million people. In less than one month enough housing for a city with a population of half a million people is made ready for occupancy, while rents have remained at a minimal level for nearly half a century. Further measures along the same lines are being carried out on the basis of the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

Needless to say, no one proposes to maintain that all problems of economic development have already been solved in the Soviet Union. The CPSU and the Soviet people are working to ensure the further advance of our economy, its comprehensive and harmonious development, and the improvement of the well-being of Soviet people.

The Soviet economy is affecting a resolute turn towards the more efficient utilization of the powerful production and technical potential created in our country to increase the national income and the end product channelled directly to satisfying the requirements of the population and the national economy. The CPSU and the Soviet people are carrying material production forward on the basis of higher efficiency and quality, implementing a sweeping social programme, and perfecting the system of management of the socialist economy and administration of the affairs of socialist society as a whole. The 25th Congress of the CPSU underscored the need to overcome the lag of agriculture and the service sphere behind the level of development of industry. All these are perfectly tangible, moreover, serious and complex problems which our party, the Soviet state, the entire Soviet people are working to resolve.

However, these real problems do not come within the compass of "The U.S.S.R. and Ourselves." Its authors, preoccupied with their search for a crisis in the U.S.S.R., lightheartedly by-pass these problems relating to the further progressive development of Soviet society.

The search for some sort of "crisis phenomena" and "sharp contradictions" lays its imprint also on the authors' analysis of the social structure of Soviet society. To believe the book, the Soviet Union today is an arena of endless and steadily deepening conflicts, primarily between the intelligentsia and the working class. The authors maintain that the Soviet intelligentsia is seeking alliance with the "old peasantry" (p. 100) against the working class (what exactly is meant by this "old peasantry" remains unclear).

Such absurd contentions remain of course totally unsubstantiated. And not surprisingly, since there is no such proof to adduce! For the actual trends of our social development are altogether different: What is taking place is the constant drawing together of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia, a drawing together as regards social background, working and living conditions, world outlook, etc.

But none of these widely known aspects is dealt with in the book. Yet the existence of these processes is confirmed by thousands of acts, by the entire economic, social and political life of the U.S.S.R.

Incidentally, not devoid of interest is the fact that elsewhere in the book the authors say that there is a "deep-going ideological link between the circles at the helm of government and the masses" to be observed in the U.S.S.R. (P. 136). Further they note that dominant in Soviet civic consciousness is recognition of the "unity of the state, party and people."

What about the conflicts that have been just discussed, the nonplussed reader will ask. But he looks for an answer in vain. Here the authors have not bothered to tie up the loose ends. Instead they go on to draw another "conclusion": Inasmuch as there is a striving in the Soviet Union to develop and consolidate the strong, indissoluble link between the party and the people, and between the people and the Soviet state, and even more so since there is talk about building a socially homogeneous society, this means that the existence of contradictions is not recognized in the U.S.S.R. that is dominant philosophy is "denial of internal contradictions".

As regards the latter contention, the authors are simply trying to break through an open door. From any Soviet philosophy textbook, not to speak of fundamental studies, they could find out that the Soviet Marxists-Leninists not only recognize the existence of contradictions under socialism in the economic, social and other spheres, but are seriously investigating the character of these contradictions. But contradictions are one thing and antagonisms quite another. This was pointed out already by Lenin, who stressed that contradictions and differences of interest were bound to remain also under socialism, while antagonism would disappear along with the exploiters and society would consist of friendly working classes.

In its documents the CPSU, underscoring the identity of the basic interests of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, points to the need to harmonize these interests with one another and with the interests of society as an integral whole. In raising and resolving problems relating to the further development of our political system and questions of an ideological nature, we proceed from the premise, Leonid Brezhnev has said, that "the party's policy yields the required results only when it fully takes into account both the interests of the entire people and the interests of the various classes and social groups, and directs them into a single, common channel." (L.I. Brezhnev, Our Course: Peace and Socialism, Moscow, 1975, P. 70). That is how things really stand.

One could of course cite also other absurdities and contradictions contained in "The U.S.S.R. and Ourselves." Take, for instance, the authors contention that there is to be observed in the U.S.S.R. "a general distortion of normal intellectual life" (P. 174). And what is one to make of the allegation that Soviet people are "apolitical," "do not wish" to participate in political life (P. 169). Here too no proof is adduced and no facts are cited. This is understandable, for the facts--whether they relate to the Soviet Union's vigorous cultural life which has drawn tens of millions of people into its orbit, the political activity of the Soviet people that astounds all unbiassed Western observers, or any other aspect of our reality--refute the speculative constructions of the authors of "The U.S.S.R. and Ourselves".

Real Socialism or An Abstract Design?

Examining the question of the socialist nature of the Soviet Union, the authors are deliberately vague, going out of their way to avoid clear formulations. "We," they write, "should no longer say: In the U.S.S.R. there is collective ownership of the means of production and the power of the working class, therefore there is socialism" (P. 216). Rather, they continue, there is an "evolution" underway which will make the producers the owners of the means of production; there is a power "partly" exercised by the working class; there is a movement "oriented towards more and more socialism".

What does this mean? How can such an ambiguous answer be given to this fundamental question? In reality, socialism has long been firmly established in the Soviet Union, and all its hallmarks are there for all to see. And today socialism is constantly demonstrating its superiority to capitalism.

Socialism has already triumphed not only in the Soviet Union but in a whole number of countries which are successfully building a socialist society. Greater opportunities have emerged for revealing the common features, laws and criteria of socialism through comparison of the historical experience of different countries, and deducing from it that which is common to socialism as a social system of a new type.

The authors of the book under review press upon the Soviet people their own solution for all economic problems. It would appear that to find such a solution (moreover for all time to come) we must go over "from state ownership to self-management under which every producer would be the master of production".

What is this system? How is it organized? How does it function? Why is it better than others? While admitting that the forms of social organization they propose have not yet been tired out in practice anywhere, the authors nevertheless claim that precisely these forms of "autonomous ownership" are best of all suited to socialist society, moreover, not only in the U.S.S.R. but in other countries as well.

What can be said of this idea? First of all, it obviously derives from a concept of a "non-state" economy of socialism. However, at the present level of socialization of production, in the context of the close and complex inter-relation of the numerous components of the national economy, the normal functioning and progressive development of socialist economy are simply inconceivable without a smoothly operating countrywide mechanism of planning and management. Such a mechanism is provided by the socialist state in the U.S.S.R. and integrated national economic complex has taken shape and is functioning. Without giving any thought to the laws of this extremely complex organism, the authors propose what amounts to its fragmentation. One need not be an economist to realize that in practice this could only result in anarchy of production, wreck and disorganize the national socialist economy, give rise to seats of private enterprise alien to it, and, in the final analysis, lead to local interests being set against the national interest. And this would undermine the foundations of socialism.

Incidentally, not long ago the French Communist Party itself resolutely condemned theories of this kind produced by leftist-anarchist elements and economists of the type of Michel Rocard, now the economic theoretician of the Socialist Party.

There is no doubt that the system of economic planning and management that has taken shape in the Soviet Union can and will be improved. This is clearly and definitely stated in the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and plenary meetings of its Central Committee, in documents adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and in speeches by Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders. But it goes without saying that no improvement is possible if it is sought on the basis of arbitrary designs not backed by experience and, moreover, running counter to the social character of the productive forces. Our practical activity is based on the combination of centralized leadership and the broad development of local initiative.

The views of the authors come into particularly sharp conflict with the experience of real socialism when they speak of the Soviet political system. This experience, they aver, "ill accords" with the principles relating to the "conception of freedom and democratic life" to which they subscribe.

Let us ponder this formula. What does it imply? It implies to all intents and purposes comparing the actual experience of socialism not with some other actual experience but with the "conception of freedom and democratic life" shared by a group of French theorists and journalists.

"We do not know exactly what ideal form political life should take in a socialist state," we read in the book, and "our discussion does not proceed from opposing one model to another" (p. 131). But if this is so, on what do the authors base their judgement of what is good and what is bad in the practice of socialist states?

The authors have at their disposal a wealth of factual material: data on the functioning of the Soviet political system--the soviets, the CPSU, the trade unions, the working collectives, the forms of workers' participation in management, and so on. However, there is none of this in the book. It will be no exaggeration to say that its authors did not touch upon a single really topical problem relating to the multiform and often complex process of the development of socialist democracy in the U.S.S.R. in the present conditions. The question of strengthening socialist legality, to which the party and the Soviet state have devoted so much attention in recent years; the question of heightening the influence of the soviets and mass organizations; the question of enhancing the role of the working collectives, which represent an effective form of self-management at Soviet factories and cooperatives; the question of broadening economic guarantees of the Soviet people's socio-economic rights through the steady raising of their living standard; the question of strengthening legal guarantees of civil rights, including the right to criticize and to legal protection against abuses of authority; the question of heightening the influence of public opinion through public discussion of the principal laws and development plans--none of these questions, in a word, not a single real question relating to socialist practice is dealt with in the book under review.

It focuses not on questions brought to the fore by the practical experience of socialism, but on contentions hostile to socialism provided (and quite some time ago) by bourgeois and opportunist propaganda.

For instance, the authors write: "There exists a certain number of institutions that constitute the edifice of fully elaborated and even very radical representative democracy: a pyramid of soviets with universal suffrage and the right to recall deputies, trade unions, People's Control, numerous public organizations, a network of cultural institutions, etc. But the whole edifice is largely devoid of content" (p.p. 136-137).

Having made this accusation, Maurice Decaillot fails to adduce any proof, to analyze the "edifice" and its operation. We believe, however, that it is impermissible to make such serious charges without any serious analysis of the question. And serious analysis should be based on facts. Since objective figures are particularly weighty facts, we permit ourselves to cite a few [as received] characterizing the "edifice" of our political democracy: 16.5 million communists, 121 million members of trade unions, nearly 38 million members of the Young Communist League, over 2 million deputies to soviets, 35 million people who work together with the deputies in the Soviets of People's Deputies, 9.5 million people in the People's Control bodies, and 5.5 million members of the constantly functioning production conferences at industrial enterprises.

It is within the framework of these huge organizational structures that political decisions are worked out and their implementation delineated, and the interests of the centre and the regions, different social groups and individual citizens are brought into agreement. In voicing concern over the "political passivity" of the Soviet population, the authors of the book overlook such an important form of expression of public opinion and criticism as nationwide discussions of the principal laws and all economic and socio-political development plans.

However, real socialism is not only and not so much a debating as a working society. Hence our party and our people hold that debates are in place when decisions are being worked out, but once a decision has been taken, it has to be carried out by joint effort. The strength and superiority of socialist democracy consist precisely in its purposefulness, its effectiveness. This is recognized also by many foreign observers, and the authors of the book under review too cannot but note it.

The main trouble with the authors of the book is that in making their cursory examination of important aspects of Soviet reality they have in effect proved unable to divorce themselves from the customary bourgeois democracy which obscures for them the record of the rise and development of a state and a democracy of a new type.

The advent of bourgeois democracy 200-250 years ago in a comparatively small number of European countries and the United States was a big step forward in the political development of human society. The development of democratic institutions in capitalist countries today too helps to create favourable conditions for the struggle waged by the working class, but it is not government by the people. Real power remains in the hands of the exploiters, the bourgeois elite. On the historical plane, this limited bourgeois democracy represents the receding past of mankind. Real socialism accumulates all the best that there is in the democratic experience of the past and at the same time carries humanity forward to socialist democracy.

Lastly, how could the authors bypass the most pressing problems which face the working people of France and the other capitalist countries and which have been successfully resolved by real socialism?

We have in mind the ending by socialism of the exploitation of man by man as the principal precondition for the realization of all other freedoms, and of unemployment, hunger, poverty and insecurity, which have always been and remain constant elements of any bourgeois society, even the most developed and the most "democratic."

We have in mind the complete abolition of illiteracy and the achievement of a high level of general education and culture by the Soviet people.

Our country has the biggest reading public in the world. Every sixth book put out in the world is published in the Soviet Union.

The achievements of Soviet science and culture, which the authors also pass over in silence, are known to the entire world. This too is real socialism, the result of the thriving of our socialist society.

We feel that these and a great many other facts conclusively demonstrating that real socialism has opened to the working people the road to liberation for all time from capitalist exploitation and its consequences are worth bringing to the attention of the working people of France who are fighting for their social rights. The truth about the Soviet Union, an honest, objective account of real socialism in our country, could be an example making for unity, a new stimulus to the struggle for social progress.

Has Internationalism "Harmed" the French Communist Party?

After reading the book to the end one is keenly aware of the need for clear answer to the question: Why has it appeared at this particular time?

The progressive forces of France are today concerned over many real problems engendered by the crisis of capitalism--unemployment, inflation, a spiritual crisis, the offensive against the vital rights of the working people. They are searching for avenues to radical change capable of opening the way to socialism. It is only natural that in these circumstances the working people in France, as in other capitalist countries, should want to know what socialism is, how it has achieved social and national equality, ensured the crisis-free development of the economy, put an end to unemployment and poverty for all time, and how it is resolving the problems of further economic and social progress.

From this standpoint it would be quite understandable if an objective book on the subject appeared in France--a book treating of both achievements and difficulties, problems solved and unresolved, and thereby giving a well-rounded exposition of the experience of the U.S.S.R. As has been said above, despite all the reservations made by the authors, "The U.S.S.R. and Ourselves" gives not clear, but confusing answers to the questions asked by the public, gives a distorted, not an objective, picture of the U.S.S.R.

It is in place to ask: How does all this accord with the tasks the French communists set themselves? The programme of far-reaching democratic changes for which the French Communist Party is fighting is intended, as the party's documents show, to create favourable conditions for carrying forward the struggle for socialism. But how can the working people be inspired to join this struggle if they are told, in defiance of the facts, that after six decades of revolution and the building of the new society real socialism has entered the blind alley of crisis?

The solution of the internal problems of the working class and democratic movement of France is inseparably connected with the struggle for peace, for detente, for the termination of the arms race and for international co-operation. In this struggle the Soviet Union is a reliable ally of the working people of France. Consequently the strengthening of friendship between the French working-class movement and the U.S.S.R., real socialism, accords with the vital interests of both sides. The present book by the five authors clearly does not serve this purpose.

The French working-class and democratic movement is now going through a complex period. The French communists are striving soberly to analyze the situation that has arisen, to find the most effective means of defending the working people's interests, strengthening the party's influence among the masses, and rebuilding the left alliance on a new and more solid foundation.

At the same time, taking advantage of the complexity of the situation in the French labour movement, opportunist elements out to impel it onto the road of reformism and class conciliation have stepped up their activity. Their prime aim is to cancel out the historical revolutionary experience of the communist parties, to set the labour movement and the communist parties of the capitalist countries against the Soviet Union, against real socialism.

This activity is being conducted in the overall context of the ideological and against the U.S.S.R. unleashed by the ruling quarters of the imperialist countries. In the wake of the bourgeoisie, the right-wing social democrats are pressing on the Western communist parties to dissociate themselves from the U.S.S.R. and the CPSU and thereby to demonstrate their "independence." Exhortations to this effect were sounded, for instance, at the recent meeting of representatives of social democratic parties in Bonn.

In a word, a massive campaign has been launched to hammer into the minds of diverse sections of the population the idea that the setbacks of the working-class and communist movement are allegedly traceable to the Soviet Union, to the "copying" of the experience of the CPSU.

At a time when the difficulties are formidable and the ways to overcome them are unclear, some people may be tempted to fall for this and to blame everything on the U.S.S.R. Did the authors of the present book too not succumb to the temptation to take this "easy way" out?

Be that as it may, the fact remains that through the entire book, from introduction to conclusion, there runs, now openly, now in veiled form, the idea that the French Communist Party all but became the victim of its own internationalism, its close association with the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The authors of the book evidently have been strongly influenced by the totally false accusations levelled by bourgeois propaganda to the effect that the policy of the French Communist Party has allegedly not been independent and national in character. "Henceforth the French communists", the authors say, "do not consider themselves, and do not wish to be considered to be part, and still less an auxiliary part, of a system organized around a single centre from which socialism emanates and which, assuming responsibility for the future of humanity, would decide the conduct of world affairs" (p. 11).

And a line lower down they exclaim: "In no way is French policy made in Moscow".

Of course it isn't. That is obvious, be it official policy or the opposition course steered by the French Communist Party, and everyone has always known it. But why be so emphatic about what is common knowledge? Whence such fear of accusations that have been levelled at the French Communist Party throughout its entire history? Whence such a passionate desire to distance oneself from Moscow, from the CPSU, from the communist and workers' parties of other socialist countries?

In their introduction the authors admit that they "did not always have the same conception of the U.S.S.R." (p. 13). As if apologizing to their readers, they seek post factum to "at one" [as received] for the existence for decades of good relations between the French Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for the solidarity of the French working class with the Soviet Union and the arduous struggle it has waged against imperialism, for socialism and for peace among the nations--a solidarity that has so strikingly manifested itself also for decades.

Evidently proposing to develop further their historical innovations, the authors say that "the history of the French Communist Party still remains to be written in many respects" (p. 14). But the history of the French Communist Party has already been written by several generations of French communists, and it is given to no one to erase it from the memory of party members. That history rests on a solid national and international foundation. And an inseparable part of this foundation has always been the close friendship of Soviet and French communists.

As a matter of fact, it is precisely this that appears to embarrass the authors. "We were not always able to avoid the tendency to regard the first socialist experiment as a universal model," they lament (p. 15). But neither the CPSU nor the Communist International ever considered the October Revolution and Soviet experience to be a universal model, or, as the authors say in another passage, a "universal socialist design" that can be mechanically applied in any conditions. As far back as 1920 Lenin said that the October Revolution revealed something highly significant and something that will be repeated in other revolutions, although it also had important specific features. Thus the authors are hitting out at their own extreme views, rather than at actual mistakes made by the French Communist Party or the world communist movement. True, the authors could not but admit that "the French Communist Party owes its emergence, its viability and its capacity to act in tremendous measure to the Soviet Union" (p. 10). But it transpires that this admission is made only in order to add that "many of the shortcomings" of the French Communist Party are also connected" with the Soviet Union.

One of these "shortcomings" they see in the fact that at all stages of the party's existence the French communists have not allowed their international ties and friendship with the Soviet Union to be weakened, but have cherished them.

Maintaining that at its Tours congress in 1920 the French Communist Party did not sufficiently take into account the national conditions, did not "strike national root," the authors ascribe the reason for this to the "influence of the Soviet party" which "predominated in the central bodies" of the Communist International (p. 14). Yet the whole world knows that it was precisely Lenin and the Communist International that fought the "infantile disorder of leftism" so that the fraternal parties might "strike national root." "The French Communist Party's great epochs of struggle," which the authors depict as limited to national confines, actually developed in the mainstream of the world communist movement, and the history of the French working-class movement and the French Communist Party always was and remains closely linked with the history of the revolutionary movement in other countries.

This was the case also in the period of the Popular Front, in the Communist International's attitude to which the authors see only "initial opposition". The truth, however, is that the Communist International gave a high appraisal of the Popular Front in France and Spain. And its 7th congress, which took place in Moscow in 1935 with the active participation of representatives of the Bolshevik Party, proclaimed the policy of the united anti-fascist alliance, the popular front against fascism and war, the basic policy of the communist parties.

This period is authoritatively dealt with in one of the last articles written by the outstanding historian of the French and international working-class movement Georges Gogniot ("Cahiers d'Histoire de l'Institut Maurice Thorez," no. 25-26, 1978, p. 220).

The attempt made by the authors of "The U.S.S.R. and Ourselves" to cast a shadow on Maurice Thorez and discredit the memory of this eminent leader of the French and international working-class movement, who did so much to build the French Communist Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, can only evoke protest. The authors accuse Thorez and the leadership of the French Communist Party at the time of dogmatism, again ascribing it to close ties with the CPSU in the "Stalinist period". Yet it was precisely at that time, in 1946, that Thorez gave his well-known interview to the London TIMES, in which the leader of the French Communist Party emphasized, in connection with the changing international situation, his party's intention to advance to socialism along a road differing from that taken by the peoples of Russia in 1917, in conformity with the specific conditions of France.

This statement, which met with full approval on the part of the CPSU and the entire international communist movement, summed up the substance of the French Communist Party's political line following the victory over fascism. Thus the authors' contention that the French Communist Party's support of the CPSU "prevented" it from advancing quickly enough to the definition and realization of our own democratic road" (p. 23) is totally at variance with the truth.

No communist party ever "suffered" from having remained true to the ideas of proletarian internationalism. This fully applies also to the French Communist Party. The French communists owe many of the successes they scored at various stages of their history precisely to the fact that they were at once dedicated patriots of their own country and consistent internationalists aware of the close connection between the struggle waged by their party and the efforts and struggle of world socialism as a whole.

Let us look at some of the most striking instances of the activity of the French Communist Party in the postwar period. The French Communists achieved signal successes in the early postwar years.

Their party developed into a major national force whose representatives entered the government and exercised a strong influence on the country's policy. This became possible thanks to the selfless work of the communists, their consistent struggle for the interests of the working people, for peace and the strengthening of the country's independence. But is it not clear that the international conditions needed for this were created by the fact that fascism, the spearhead force of world imperialism, had been defeated and that the decisive role in its defeat had been played by the world's first socialist country, the Soviet Union?

The victory of socialism over fascism gave rise to a powerful upsurge of democratic forces in all the countries of the world, a gravitation of the masses towards socialism. Drawing on the support of the masses, the French communists succeeded in winning in 1944-46 a number of important democratic reforms in the economic and political spheres. Were not the socio-political achievements of socialism in the Soviet Union an inspiring stimulus and example for them?

The principled course steered by the French Communist Party in the postwar years, its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism helped to make it a truly mass party of the working class, closely linked with broad sections of the working people. In 1946 the party had a membership of over 800,000 and in the November 1946 National Assembly election some 5.5 million voters, or 28.6 percent of the electorate, cast their ballots for the communists.

In the 50's, despite repression and persecution, the communist party did not depart a single iota from its principles and remained the militant vanguard of the working class. In the 1956 elections one out of every four voted communist.

Finally, in the presidential election in June 1969 the communist candidate Jacques Duclos made an impressive showing. Together with the entire party he conducted an exceptionally effective campaign.

Although his campaign facilities were limited as compared to those of the candidates of the ruling camp, Duclos lacked only two percent of the vote needed to enter the second ballot for the presidency. The passionate internationalism of Jacques Duclos and the entire communist party, far from hindering his campaign, imparted to it a still more effective, militant, class character.

The French Communist Party has experienced trying times and come up against difficulties in the course of its history. But was this due to its internationalist policy? To its friendly attitude to its internationalist policy? To its friendly attitude to the CPSU? Certainly not! It was due primarily to the pressure exerted by big business, by the forces of reaction on the French communists. It was due to weaknesses in the ranks of the left, to their disunity. It was due, as the communists themselves self-critically said on more than occasion, also to certain shortcomings in their own work. All this can easily be found in documents of the French Communist Party relating to various periods of its history.

Such are the facts. And they show that the authors' hints at weaknesses of some kind in their party for which either the Soviet Union or the former leadership of the French Communist Party, headed by Maurice Thorez, are allegedly to blame, are primarily of a dishonest character, to say the least.

Of course these hints have made the book extremely attractive to the ideological opponents of the Soviet Union and socialism as well as of the French Communist Party itself. No wonder the French bourgeois and reformist press has paid it so much attention.

And that press is egging the book's authors on to still more vigorous effort along the same lines. LE MONDE, for instance, carried a review of the book under the headline "Keep It Up, Comrades!" (September 14). And the well-known anti-communist Jean-Francois Revel said in connection with the publication of the book: "The French Communist Party can become democratic and pluralistic only if it becomes reformist" (L'EXPRESS, September 14).

In our view all these appraisals ought to impel the authors to ponder again the conception advanced in their book and the place the ideas and postulates contained in it occupy in the sharp ideological struggle going on in the world today.

The Soviet communists have always striven to strengthen the ties of solidarity with the communists of France on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is our immutable position. The crux of the matter is that the basic, fundamental interests of our parties in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism coincide. These are our common interests. Even if difference of views arise on some concrete questions of theory or practice, this cannot and must not jeopardize joint effort towards goals according with these common interests. Hence, it is imperative above all to avoid steps that could give rise to or deepen mutual distrust and lead to distortion of positions. Hence, it seems to us, it is essential first of all to work for better knowledge and understanding of each other's life and positions--taking into account, of course, the difference places our parties occupy in their respective countries, the fact that the French Communist Party is functioning in the conditions of capitalist society and is fighting for democratic and social change, while the CPSU has for 60 years now been building a new society, breaking new historical ground and has achieved great successes, recognized by the entire world communist movement, in the building of a state of developed socialism which stands as a bulwark of peace and social progress.

VANCE TO MEET WITH DAYAN, KHALIL IN BRUSSELS

LD212224Y Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2030 GMT 21 Dec 78 LD

[Text] According to news agency reports, U.S. Secretary of State Vance will meet with Israeli Foreign Minister Dayan and Egyptian Prime Minister Khalil in Brussels on 23 December to accelerate the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli separate treaty. Political observers link the forthcoming meeting with Washington's attempts to gain new concessions from the Egyptian leadership by intensifying their pressure on it.

Having allowed Cairo--for reasons of propaganda--to make its show of principles at the talks with Israel, the United States has now decided that the time has come to conclude the separate deal.

Washington's chief hope in this effort is found in As-Sadat's frequently expressed readiness to sign a humiliating treaty with Israel to the detriment of the interests of the Arab peoples. This is the same As-Sadat who has pursued a course of capitulation throughout the talks.

ANTIGOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATIONS CONTINUE IN IRAN

LD211648Y Moscow TASS in English 1518 GMT 21 Dec 78 LD

[Text] New York, December 21, TASS--Anti-governmental manifestations do not abate in Iran. Yesterday, a mass demonstration was held in the town of Ardebil in the north west of the country. It was organized in protest against violence meted out by a group of soldiers a few days ago to medical staffs in one of the hospitals of Mashhad, where wounded participants in anti-governmental manifestations had been treated.

UPI reports tension in the town of Qom, which had become an arena of unceasing clashes between army units and demonstrators. The town was surrounded by troops, who set up road blocks at all entrances and do not let people from other districts enter the town.

Staffs of the PARS news agency called a strike today in protest against the deliberate distortion of their reports in radio and television programmes. The strike was sparked off by a radio announcement quoting PARS as saying that two people were allegedly wounded during the dispersal of anti-governmental demonstrations in Tabriz while the agency correspondent really reported from that town that 12 people had been killed. Since the strike had been called, the radio and television, fully controlled by the military government, are the only mass media in Iran.

Today troops opened fire on a student demonstration who gathered on the Tehran University campus. A sit-down strike on the university's faculty members is going on for the second day. They are demanding the abrogation of the authorities' instruction on the closure of this institution of higher learning, the country's biggest one, for an indefinite time.

Troops also dispersed today a funeral procession in Tabriz--the participants in the procession were shouting antigovernment slogans.

Speaking in the upper chamber of Iran's parliament Senator Naini sharply criticized the authorities' reprisals against the opposition. The current military government, he said, not only could not solve essential problems but still further aggravated them, causing bloodshed in the country. The events in Shiraz, Reza'iyeh, Yazd, Mashhad, Nejafabad, and many other towns, the senator emphasized, showed that the authorities continue resorting to terror and violence. The events of recent days made all honest Iranians grieve. Naini denounced the bloodshed continuing in the country and called for the resignation of the present military cabinet and the formation of a government "which would be backed by the people and would respect the laws of the country".

The National Front, the biggest opposition organization in Iran, rejected the stratagems of the authorities aimed at the formation of a so-called government of "national reconciliation" while preserving the existing regime. In a statement circulated in Tehran, UPI reports, the front emphasized that it was against any attempts at forming a government which supported the monarchy.

Paris, December 21, TASS--Ayatoma Montazeri, the religious leader well known in the country, who had been released from an Iranian prison recently said upon his arrival in the French capital that SAVAK agents had subjected him to refined torture for several months. He was manhandled, his arms were twisted, he was fettered, and refused medical aid when he was lying with bleeding wounds.

All these atrocities, he said, were perpetrated by SAVAK agents. Many of my fellow countrymen died in jail as a result of such torture.

Another Iranian political-religious leader, Khomeyni, commenting on reports concerning SAVAK atrocities, particularly criticised the hypocritical stand of the United States which pays lip service to the defence of human rights, while in fact it closes its eyes to their scandalous violation by regimes pursuing a pro-American policy. We urged the American administration to apply its widely advertised principles of defence of human rights also with regard to Iran. For Iran must be no exception because of its strategic significance for the United States and its interests there, Khomeyni said. He categorically opposed the use of incomes from the export of Iranian oil to pay for American arms deliveries, designed to "convert Iran into an American base".

Meanwhile, according to press reports, the USA continues shipping to Iran arms and various police equipment for the dispersal of demonstrators. More and more consignments of tear gas grenades, water jets,truncheons and handcuffs are arriving in the country.

USSR NOT OUT TO GAIN CONTROL OVER ARAB OIL

LD212128Y Moscow in Arabic to the Arab World 1730 GMT 21 Dec 78 LD

[Unattributed commentary]

[Summary] An Algerian listener asks us about the USSR's relations with the oil-producing states:

First of all let us note that the USSR is itself an oil producer. This year the USSR produced 570 million tons of oil. "If we take into consideration the fact that other energy sources are being extensively exploited in the USSR, then one can say with confidence that the energy crisis does not threaten our country. I want to dwell on this point for a moment, because there are some Arabs who believe the lie fabricated by the CIA that oil wells in the USSR are drying up and that because of this the USSR wants to gain control over Arab oil. This is alleged despite the fact that a socialist country does not know in principle the desire to gain control of other people's resources.

"An objective analysis of the development of the oil industry in the USSR totally refutes such fabrications. In its relations with the oil-producing countries, the USSR constantly adheres to the principles of equality, mutual benefit and noninterference in internal affairs. At the same time, the USSR strongly supports both politically and materially their struggle to establish sovereignty over their natural resources." This attitude was recently confirmed in the Warsaw Pact statement in November, which states that all peoples have the right to dispose of their natural resources in a way that raises their standard of living. The USSR provides assistance to oil producers to help them establish their national industries. The best example is Soviet cooperation with Algeria and Iraq, which includes training of national cadres.

U.S.-PRC COOPERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ASSAILED

ID211936Y Moscow in English to Africa 1630 GMT 21 Dec 78 ID

[Unattributed Commentary]

[Text] Confidential documents published by the New York TIMES indicate that joint actions by the United States and China in Africa constitute a threat to freedom and progress on the continent. It follows from the documents that Washington feels so sure of Peking's understanding that it put to it delicate proposals aimed at preserving the racist regimes in southern Africa. One document contains the request of the national security adviser to the U.S. President, Zbigniew Brzezinski, to Peking to persuade some of the leaders of the Patriotic Front to join the white and black African leaders who signed the internal settlement agreement in Rhodesia. In other words, the United States regards China as the best ally in its attempts to split the front and place the future of Zimbabwe among the neocolonialist lines. Another document contains Brzezinski's appeal to Peking to provide arms and money for Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Angolan splitters, who is in the pay of the South African regime.

China's policy in southern Africa gives Washington every reason to regard it as its ally. The Chinese news media represent the Rhodesian racist armed provocations against Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana in a way exonerating Salisbury. It alleges that it is not the racists that threaten the independence of African countries but the Soviet Union, who supports real patriots. Peking's policy with regard to Angola is no better. China has all along sided with South Africa in fighting the republic. Up to now it has not recognized Angola's legitimate government, and it still supplies the splinter groups with arms.

Some observers have expressed the view that one of the reasons why Peking is trying to stir up trouble in Angola is its desire to help racist South Africa to deal with the patriots in Namibia, to enable Pretoria to legalize its occupation of that territory. And indeed, when the United Nations Decolonization Committee recently discussed Namibia the Chinese delegate, instead of demanding the withdrawal of occupation forces from that country, made verbal attacks on the Soviet Union, accusing it without any proof whatsoever of its [word indistinct] in southern Africa. Facts indicate it is the common hatred of the liberation movements and anti-Sovietism that have brought the United States, China and South Africa to one camp. Facts also indicate that the three countries are forming an alliance in the African south in order to help the West preserve its influence in that part of the continent on a neocolonialist basis.

VIETNAM'S TRAN LAM INTERVIEWED DURING MOSCOW VISIT

LD212121Y Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 21 Dec 78 LD

[Text] Tran Lam, chairman of the Vietnamese Governmental Council Committee for Television and Radio, has visited Moscow. He said in an interview to our correspondent:

[Tran Lam recorded, speaking in Vietnamese with superimposed Russian translation] The year 1978 that is now ending, said Comrade Tran Lam, has put the Vietnamese people to yet another test. It has been a year in which the Peking leaders and their Phnom Penh minions unleashed a furious anti-Vietnamese campaign. Peking came out with the so-called "call of blood" theory in order to provoke the Hoachiao into giving up their peaceful work and returning to China. At the same time Peking asserted quite groundlessly that the Hoachiao were being subjected to harassment and repression.

Then the Peking leaders decided to stop economic assistance to Vietnam and recall its specialists. All these acts were aimed at harming and weakening Vietnam and causing chaos and confusion in its economy.

But the Chinese hegemonists did not stop there. They incited the reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to open a provocative border war with Vietnam, which has led to bloodshed and loss of life. During the natural catastrophe of the heavy floods so tragic for Vietnam, it was China which launched the appeal not to render any economic assistance to our country.

But the Vietnamese people cannot be frightened, Comrade Tran Lam continued. It has borne on its shoulders all the burdens of war against the French colonialists and the American invaders. It will be victorious even this time. We are confident in our strength. We also believe in the victory of the Kampuchean people in its struggle against the reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. The Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation is operating in the country. With the support of the majority of the population it is waging a relentless war against Peking's minions, who are carrying out a policy of genocide in the country.

Comrade Tran Lam concluded, I would like to thank the fraternal Soviet people for the invaluable assistance and support they have been rendering Vietnam. I also wish to use this occasion to congratulate all the Soviet people on the coming new year and wish them happiness, health and success in their work. [end recording]

IZVESTIYA SCORNS 'FARCICAL' ROK PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

LD221011Y Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Dec 78 Morning Edition p 4 LD

[S. Churgov article: "Farce Instead of Elections"]

[Text] South Korea's ruling clique has tried to play out its latest farce. It has called "free democratic elections." This measure by South Korea dictator Pak Chong-hui can be called a farce if only because the result of the voting could scarcely be reflected in the position of the ruling clique which calls itself the Democratic Republican Party.

Back in 1972, the dictator assumed the right simply to appoint his henchmen to 77 of the 231 seats in parliament. To seize the maximum number of the remaining parliamentary seats the dictator's clique earmarked enormous sums to bribe voters and did not disdain the use of blackmail and threats. The elections were held in an atmosphere of terror and intimidation.

The procedure for holding these apologies for elections again graphically demonstrated the true face of the dictatorial regime of Pak Chong-hui, who established his omnipotent rule in South Korea 17 years ago. Lawlessness and violence became the system for the country's rule. The regime takes merciless, cold-blooded reprisals against those who are even suspected of dissatisfaction with the dictator's policy.

However, the dictator does not believe in his regime's ability to eradicate the people's desire for freedom and justice. He continues to gamble on all-round U.S. support. Here, in an attempt to show a bad policy in a good light, he is posing as the supporter of the people's interests and hypocritically stating his intention to reduce the U.S. presence on South Korean soil. There are 40,000 U.S. servicemen in South Korea at present. All that has been promised by the end of 1979 is the withdrawal of 6,000 U.S. officers and men. But this insignificant reduction in troops is more than compensated for by large-scale deliveries of modern U.S. weapons to the Seoul regime. In the next few years the total value of U.S. deliveries to Seoul is to total $1.9 billion. Pak Chong-hui fears the people's indignation, and these arms which are designed to "defend the country" against the mythical "threat from the north" can at any moment be turned against the people.

And nonetheless, despite the measures adopted, the outcome of the "elections" has proved somewhat unexpected for the dictator. His clique was able to push through only 68 of its henchmen by means of the ballot and has thus only just insured a parliamentary majority.

The dictator Pak Chong-hui's desire to rely on U.S. bayonets to perpetuate his anti-popular form of rule and to permanently enclose the southern part of the Korean Peninsula in barbed wire is arousing indignation among all Korean patriots. They are demanding the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and the country's unification on a peaceful, democratic basis, as the DPRK proposes.

JSP CHAIRMAN HOLDS MOSCOW PRESS CONFERENCE

OW211207Y Tokyo KYODO in English 1205 GMT 21 Dec 78 OW

[Text] Moscow, 21 Dec, (KYODO)--Ichio Asukata, chairman of the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) said here Thursday he thought the strain between Japan and the Soviet Union has eased considerably as a result of his visit with a party delegation.

At a news conference at the Japanese Embassy prior to the delegation's departure from Moscow, Asukata said it was only natural that the Soviet side maintained a stern attitude on the territorial issue with Japan at talks with the JSP delegation. He said it would be absurd to expect the Soviet Union to change its attitude suddenly. At the same time, however, he said he has gained the impression in his unofficial contacts with the Soviet side that the Soviet Union intends to take up the territorial issue from a new angle if international tension eases.

Asukata then announced that a JSP delegation now visiting North Korea had agreed in principle with the Korean Workers Party on the establishment of a nuclear-free zone over the Korean Peninsula.

He said the JSP will hold talks with the Soviet Communist Party concerning denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula on another occasion, because his delegation failed to reach agreement with the Soviet side on this problem. He said he wants to establish a formal agreement among the JSP, the Korean Workers Party and the Soviet Communist Party on the denuclearization of Korea.

Asukata said the JSP delegation held discussions in depth with the Soviet side on Japan-Soviet fishery problems, and argued that Japanese and Soviet fishermen and workers should establish closer contacts.

The JSP delegation and the Soviet Communist Party were not expected to issue a joint communique.

JSP DELEGATION LEAVES MOSCOW, SEEN OFF BY ZIMYANIN

LD220732Y Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2218 GMT 21 Dec 78 LD

[Text] Moscow--The visit by the Japanese Socialist Party [JSP] delegation, which had been in Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, ended today. The delegation, led by the chairman of the JSP Central Executive Committee, Ichio Asukata, held talks with a CPSU delegation, during which urgent international problems and various aspects of Soviet-Japanese relations and bilateral links between the CPSU and the JSP were discussed.

The delegation was seen off at Sheremetyevo Airport by CPSU Central Committee Secretary Mikhail Zimyanin and responsible officials of the CPSU Central Committee.

USSR, JAPAN SIGN BANK CREDIT PROTOCOL IN TOKYO

LD201950Y Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT 20 Dec 78 LD

[Text] Tokyo, December 20, TASS--An intergovernmental protocol on the granting by Japan of a bank credit to the Soviet Union to the sum of about 59 billion yen was signed here. The credit is intended for financing the purchases from a number of Japanese metallurgical companies of large-diametre pipes for the Soviet gas industry.

The present deal, concluded on a mutually advantageous basis, is a new step in the realisation of the Soviet-Japanese agreement on trade turnover and payments for 1976-1980 that is being successfully implemented. In the two and a half years since its signing, trade turnovers between the two countries has reached 5.5 billion roubles, this amounting to 55 percent of the entire volume of trade planned for the five-year period.

SHCHERBITSKIY REPORT TO UKRAINIAN CP CC PLENUM 12 DEC

AU191435Y Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 13 Dec 78 pp 1-2 AU

[Report delivered at 12 December plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, on the results of the CPSU Central Committee, November 1978 Plenum and the tasks of republican party organizations stemming from its decisions and from the speech delivered at the plenum by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman-- "Printed From Abridged Minutes,"]

[Text] Comrades! As you know, at its 27 November plenum the CPSU Central Committee discussed and for the most part endorsed the draft 1979 plan and budget for the USSR. They were then examined and endorsed at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and came into effect.

THE PLENUM WAS ADDRESSED BY COMRADE L.I. BREZHNEV, CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE GENERAL SECRETARY AND USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDIUM CHAIRMAN. HIS SPEECH, PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS, OFFERS A PROFOUND AND COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY. IT CONVINCINGLY SHOWS THE RANGE OF THE SUCCESSES ATTAINED AND DETERMINES THE TASKS CONFRONTING US, AS WELL AS THE WAYS OF ACCOMPLISHING THEM.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum fully and entirely approved the conclusions and theses set forth in Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's speech and resolved to base the activity of party, administrative, trade union, Komsomol and economic organs on them. The plenum documents are a model of a Leninist attitude toward the analysis of social development, of Bolshevik principle-mindedness in assessing what has been done and the shortcomings that occur.

THE PLENUM WAS HELD IN A BUSINESSLIKE AND CREATIVE ATMOSPHERE. IT PROVES ONCE AGAIN THAT IN THE PAST 3 YEARS THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE ACCOMPLISHED A GREAT DEAL AND THAT OUR COUNTRY HAS STEADILY PURSUED THE CORRECT LENINIST PATH. ONE CAN POINT OUT WITH SATISFACTION THAT OUR SITUATION IS GOOD AND STABLE, AND THAT THE PARTY'S DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY MEETS WITH FULL SUPPORT ON THE PART OF ALL SECTIONS OF SOCIETY.

The statement and the results of the Political Consultative Committee meeting of Warsaw Pact states and the important constructive proposals made to further develop detente and the disarmament process had a resounding effect internationally and met with approval.

And if, despite the intrigues of reactionary and aggressive forces, of the most shameless imperialist circles in the United States, of NATO bosses and of the Peking rulers, who have made an open deal with the former, peace has not become less stable, this is because of the great and truly historic service rendered primarily by our entire state, party, its Leninist Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo and personally Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev.

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee November Plenum and the USSR Supreme Soviet session met with unanimous approval among the Soviet people.

The international public showed much interest in the plenum proceedings and in its documents. All honest people all over the world can see that our party's activity are permeated with solicitude for the people's prosperity, that the Soviet state's plans are plans for creation, for peace.

I--The Main Results of the 3 Years of the 5-Year Period. The 1978 Plan--An Important Link in Implementing the Socioeconomic Program drawn up by the 25th CPSU Congress.

Comrades, life has convincingly confirmed the correctness of the political theses of the 25th party congress and of the socioeconomic program drawn up by the congress. For example, in our republic the national income in the 3 years will increase, compared with the corresponding period of the Ninth 5-Year Plan, by R43.6 billion, 24.3 percent. This year, it will total R77 billion, which is practically in line with the targets under the 5-year plan.

In the current 5-year period, more than R54 billion of capital investments have already been allocated from all financial sources for national economic development. More than a thousand major production capacities and facilities have been put into operation, and all fixed assets have increased nearly 25 percent.

This year, our republic will supply 3.5 times more industrial production than the entire country produced in 1940. Compared with 1975, the volume of industrial production will increase 15.3 percent.

THE VALUE OF PRODUCTION MARKETED IN EXCESS OF THE PLAN SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE 5-YEAR PERIOD HAS TOTALED MORE THAN R3 BILLION, consumer goods being accountable for almost 50 percent of above-plan production.

The technical level of production is rising. The productivity of communal labor in the national economy will increase 14.1 percent compared with 1975, which will be tantamount to economizing by the labor of 2.6 million workers. Nearly 3,000 new items have been put into production since the beginning of the 5-year period. The portion of high-quality articles has increased 2.5 times.

On the basis of consistently strengthening the material-technical basis of agriculture, the volume of agricultural production in the 3 years will increase 10.5 percent against the 8.7 percent provided under the 5-year plan. The gross grain yields and the production and procurement of other farm produce are increasing yearly.

A record grain crop totalling 50.6 million tons, or a ton per inhabitant of the republic was obtained this year. Per-hectare grain yields averaged 30.3 quintals, and those of winter wheat 35.2 quintals. The deliveries to the state totaled 1,082 billion puds of grain, or 32 million puds more than planned; in addition, more than 3 billion puds were procured in the 3 years.

THE SALE OF A BILLION PUDS OF GRAIN ANNUALLY IS THUS BECOMING A NORM FOR THE UKRAINE'S FARMERS.

The 3-year plan of the 5-year period has been fulfilled for the procurements of sugar beets, flax, potatoes and vegetables.

The number and productivity of cattle and poultry have increased, as have the output and procurements of stock-breeding produce.

IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT THE SOCIAL PROGRAM DRAWN UP BY THE PARTY IS BEING SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENTED.

The rate of increase in the population's real income, wages and salaries, as well as the funds of communal consumption, which have reached the great sum of R18.5 billion, are in line with the 5-year target or have exceeded them. The funds of communal consumption, comrades, are approximately equal to 1 year's capital investments in the republic from all financial sources.

Retail commodity turnover increased by R4.5 billion compared with 1975. The volume of consumer services increased 26 percent, including 35 percent in the countryside.

In the same period the republic will improve housing conditions for nearly 5 million inhabitants. The plans for opening schools and children's preschool establishments are being fulfilled.

OUR PEOPLE ARE MANIFESTING A PROFOUND AWARENESS OF THEIR PATRIOTIC DUTY: SOME 1.4 MILLION ADVANCED PRODUCTION WORKERS AND 80,000 LABOR COLLECTIVES HAVE PREFULFILLED THE 3-YEAR PLANS OF THE 5-YEAR PERIOD.

A large group of the most outstanding production innovators, scientists, specialists and cultural workers in the republic were awarded this year Lenin and USSR state prizes.

At the same time, certainly, we also have some difficulties, shortcomings and unsettled tasks. Tasks set under the 5-year plan for the present year are not being fully accomplished for individual items, primarily for increasing the volumes of industrial production, labor productivity, coal mining, metal output and some other kinds of production.

The 3-year plans have not been fulfilled in the procurements of sunflower seeds, fruit and grapes. The rates attained in increasing stockbreeding production are unsatisfactory, too.

A serious improvement is needed in capital construction, transport, and the work of many sectors in the services sphere.

Undoubtedly, the results were also affected by the shortcomings in material-technical supplies.

But the main cause of the shortcomings and omissions lies in the fact that all our cadres have still not been working in line with the requirements of the 25th party congress and Central Committee plenums. They have been slow to switch over to increased production efficiency. And a careful, critical scrutiny of the shortcomings should serve, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the plenum, as a point of departure in improving work.

Comrades, there is no doubt that THE 1979 PLAN WILL PROVE TO BE ANOTHER IMPORTANT LINK IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 25TH CONGRESS DECISIONS, IN PREPARATIONS FOR ACCOMPLISHING EVEN MORE COMPLEX TASKS FOR THE 11TH 5-YEAR PERIOD.

The plan calls for an accelerated rate of growth in the socialist economy, an increase in labor productivity and investments in such key areas as the fuel and power industry, metallurgy and transport, and it provides for a due level of the country's defense potential. The plan is better coordinated than in preceding years.

We must further increase grain output and considerably accelerate the rate of stockbreeding development.

Important measures have been provided to further improve the people's prosperity, including increased salaries for workers in education, health service, culture and other nonproduction branches. In total, wages and salaries will be increased for nearly 3 million persons. In line with the recent decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, additional allowances will be given to participants in the Great Patriotic War.

The indexes of the republic's plan will be detailed in the report by Comrade Lyashko, Ukrainian Council of Ministers chairman.

I would only like to emphasize that much and hard work will be needed to cope with the tasks set for the fourth year of the 5-year period. It will be necessary to maximally mobilize all forces, further raise the standards of political and organizational work, make skillful use of the entire potential and reserves available, and to improve leadership in the national economy.

II--Let Us Concentrate Efforts on the Accomplishment of the Main National Economic Tasks

Comrades, the fate of the 1979 plan will be determined by smooth and regular work in all economic fields.

However, some sections require particular attention. This applies primarily to the COAL INDUSTRY. This year, because of the mines unsatisfactory work, fuel deliveries to the consumers have fallen far short of the target.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee and Council of Ministers repeatedly called the attention of the Board of the Ukrainian Ministry of the Coal Industry and the minister personally to the shortcomings in the industry's leadership, and gave the ministry practical assistance. But the situation has not improved. Thus the Ukrainian Central Committee Politburo came to the conclusion that the ministry's leadership had to be strengthened.

Insuring that the coal industry works steadily is a priority task. The Ministry of Coal Industry and obkoms, primarily in Donetsk and Voroshilovgrad, must make more effective use of the assistance received, and direct the efforts of labor collectives to increase coal output and completely accomplish the tasks planned.

We must also improve the situation in FERROUS METALLURGY. This year the plan for metal production has not been fully coped with.

Some metallurgical plants undoubtedly had difficulties obtaining raw and other material needed for repairs and operations. Yet one must not overlook the fact that a number of enterprises, particularly the Krivoy Rog, the Makeyevka, and the Kommunarsk metallurgical and the Avdeyevka coke-chemical plants, have slackened discipline. Their production organization has been inadequate, they disregarded technology and their aggregates have been idling.

The board of the Ukrainian Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy with Comrade Ya. P. Kulikov, minister, still has not taken effective measures to remedy the situation.

Early next year the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo intends to examine the work of this branch with the participation of plant directors and party committee secretaries.

Steps must also be taken to make effective use of rolled stock in all branches, especially in machinebuilding and metal processing where metal wastage is still significant.

CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION is an important and complex sector, too. The CPSU Central Committee Plenum called for an intensification of the struggle against the dispersal of manpower and funds among many projects, for steps to reduce the amount of equipment uninstalled, and for more rapid commissioning and mastering of new capacities.

Compared with the preceding 5-year period, in the first 3 years of the 5-year period the republic put into operation 21 percent more fixed assets. However, the plans drawn up are not being fully implemented and the range of incomplete construction is not being reduced. Volynskaya, Zakarpatskaya, Kirovogradskaya, Nikolayevskaya, Khmelnitskaya, Cherkasskaya and Chernovitskaya oblasts have been systematically falling short of targets for the commissioning of houses. Facilities not provided with equipment, technical documentation and finance are frequently being included in the plan.

Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy quoted the following example: As of 1972, a rubber footwear factory, estimated to be worth R24.5 million, is under construction in Gorlovka. About $3 million has been used thus far. At this rate the Ukrainian Main Administration of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry and the Ukrainian Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry will go on building the plant for more than one 5-year period. And this is not the only project where millions of rubles and much equipment have been frozen.

Late in October the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo, with the participation of ministry and construction organization leaders, obkom secretaries and oblispolkom deputy chairmen, examined the state of affairs in construction and outlined measures for eliminating the shortcomings that occur.

It is now necessary to really concentrate forces and resources on the most important projects that are about to be commissioned and are of priority importance for the state, especially in the iron ore mining, coal, metallurgical and chemical industries. It is also imperative to continue increasing the capacities of building organizations and enterprises supplying building materials, to consolidate their production basis, and to rapidly develop enterprises, producing new and effective construction parts and materials, particularly for finishing purposes.

And, above all, thrifty use must be made of what has already been provided. Is it normal that a number of capacities at large plants supplying silicate, wall materials and structural parts, such as those in Belgorod Dnestrovskiy, Slavuta, Sumy and Nikolayev, have only been engaged 50 percent?

The organization of labor is a weak spot at projects. In addition, the quality of construction leaves much to be desired. The speaker quoted concrete facts showing the poor quality of building operations in a number of oblasts.

All this shows the eventual need to present, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, strict accounts to those directly responsible for the state of affairs in construction.

Significant difficulties are arising from the failure to fulfill the plan for FREIGHT TRANSPORTATION. All reserves must be used to increase the efficiency of railroad transport, to radically improve car loading and unloading operations, particularly at night and on days off, to eliminate unproductive idling, and to sharply reduce empty car runs. Efforts must continue to eliminate the practice of conveying the same goods in two opposite directions and other irrational transportation operations, to further concentrate motor transport in large pools, and to apply the transportation experience of Leningrad, Odessa and Chelyabinsk oblast organizations.

Obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms must assist transport services and tighten control over the fulfillment of the transportation plan.

Comrades, THE MAIN TASK IN AGRICULTURE, AS WAS EMPHASIZED AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM, IS TO ATTAIN A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN THE OUTPUT OF STOCKBREEDING PRODUCE, PARTICULARLY MEAT AND MILK.

In the current year the cattle and poultry procurements have increased by more than 200,000 tons, or nearly 6 percent. But the national economic plan has not been fulfilled. Therefore, the supplies of meat products to the market are falling short of the plan, although they are somewhat larger than last year. The milk supply situation is hardly better. Compared with last year, milk purchases have decreased and the plan has not been fulfilled either. We all know the causes, they have been discussed more than once; and there is no reason to repeat them.

It is now important to concentrate efforts on accomplishing tasks for the fourth year of the 5-year period. These tasks are very demanding.

It suffices to say that cattle and poultry procurements must be brought to 4,165,000 tons, or 12.5 percent more than the total expected this year. Milk purchases must rise to 15.2 million tons, or nearly 8 percent. Such rapid growth rates are unprecedented in the republic. But this task must be accomplished, because otherwise it is impossible to substantially improve the supplies to the population.

It must be noted that our base has now changed. The amount of cattle and poultry has significantly increased; livestock on the whole has been rather well provided with fodder, including grain fodder; and a great deal has been done to concentrate on production, the introduction of industrial technologies.

For this reason it is imperative to carefully scrutinize the possibilities of every farm, the reserves available--and we have such reserves, even quite sizeable ones. For example, this year Krymskaya, Khersonskaya and Odesskaya oblasts were able to increase meat procurements 12-14 percent, and a number of oblasts fulfilled the plan for milk purchases.

What, in our opinion, are the MAIN WAYS TO ACCOMPLISH TASKS IN STOCKBREEDING?

ONE--and this is the main thing--it is necessary to increase the productivity and number of cattle and poultry, and on the basis of this to raise in every possible way production in the communal sector.

The estimates show that per-cow milk yields at kolkhozes and sovkhozes must rise next year to at least 2,630-2,560 kilograms, an increase of 100-120 kilograms, or 4-5 percent. Gains in the weight of cattle must increase to 600-620 grams, or 12-15 percent.

The organization of hog fattening calls for particular attention. We must not tolerate any longer the fact that the republic is seriously lagging in average daily weight gains.

The Ministry of Agriculture (Comrade Khorunzhiy) and the Ministry of Sovkhozes (Comrade Kolomiyets), along with the southern branch of the VASKhNIL (Comrade Kuzmenko), must finally examine the causes of this state of affairs and take steps to increase gains in the weight of hogs to at least 400 grams.

Full use must also be made of methods such as developing poultry farming for meat on the basis of cooperation, and of other techniques dealt with at the CPSU Central Committee plenum.

A substantial reserve, Comrade V. V. Scherbitskiy went on, lies in increasing marketability. The matter is to be organized so as to decrease the number of animals consumed at farms by 25-30 percent and to increase the slaughter weight of animals by the same percent. This is fully feasible. It is also necessary to increase milk marketability.

For this reason strict control must be established, primarily by rayispolkoms, over produce used for internal farm needs; it is essential to foster self-discipline among farm leaders and to increase their responsibilioy for the rates of production increasing and for the accomplishment of procurement tasks.

Kolkhoz and sovkoz leaders and basic party organizations, all brigade leaders and stock-breeding farm managers must be aware of our requirements, and constant control must be established over the work of all stockbreeding subunits.

The SECOND WAY to increase meat and milk resources lies in stimulating production at subsidiary farms belonging to indistrial enterprises, building and other organizations, and in expanding the practice of hog fattening on food waste in the system of the Ministry of Trade, consumer cooperative societies, and in workers supply divisions. Obkoms, oblispolkoms, ministries and departments, Comrade V. V. ShchErbitskiy said, must examine the state of affairs at subsidiary farms and work out proposals to expand the existing farms, organize new ones and encourage their production of meat, milk, potatoes, vegetables and other produce.

The republic's Council of Ministers must also define more exacting tasks for hog breeding on food waste and must make ministerial, departmental and oblispolkom leaders strictly responsible for their accomplishment.

THREE--The possibilities of private subsidiary farms belonging to the population have not been fully used everywhere.

For example, year in and year out in Zhitomirskaya, Kirovogradskaya, Lovovskaya, Chernigovskaya, Vinnitskaya and Volynskaya oblasts Kolkhoz peasants and sovkhoz workers obtain barely two-thirds of the grain provided for in the grain forage balance. The pupulation in Dnepropetrovskaya, Poltavskaya, Kharkovskaya, Cherkasskaya and Volynskaya oblasts have been sold far fewer piglets than last year. On the other hand, there are also quite a few shortcomings in the organization of farm produce surplus purchases from the population.

In connection with this, a few words must be dedicated to the work of CONSUMER SOCIETIES. This large public and economic organization services nearly one half of the republic's population Some 60 percent of potatoes, 46 percent of vegetables, 33 percent of fruit, 40 percent of eggs and much other produce is being supplied to state resources through this organization.

At the same time the possibilities of cooperative societies to mobilize local raw material and foodstuff resources are a long way from being fully utilized. At present the organization of the Ukrainian Consumers Union only purchases from the population 200,000 tons of meat.

We consider that next year consumer societies can and must bring the volume of their meat purchases to 275,000 tons. They must double the sales of meat products on commission in cities and workers settlements.

More attention must be paid to the work of kolkhoz marketplaces. Rabbit and fish farming must develop more purposefully.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo considers that party committee first secretaries in rayons, cities and oblasts must personally spearhead all the work of party, soviet and economic organs to increase milk and meat resources.

Naturally enough, both next year and in following years it would be impossible to insure the necessary stockbreeding development without a sufficient FORAGE BASE.

The task of further increasing grain production comes to the forefront here. Stockbreeding demands on grain forage will increase 2 million tons next year. In addition, one must not overlook the fact that, since forage albumin is in short supply, feeding on grain exceeds the norm. Apart from that, more grain must be allotted to kolkhoz peasants to significantly increase meat production in the private sector.

This is why it is extremely necessary to bring the overall output of grain in 1979 to 52-53 million tons.

This task is painstaking, but feasible. If we obtained this year the corn grain yield planned, this volume of grain production would have already been attained. The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo has approved practical measures for accomplishing this task. They must be implemented at every level.

Certainly, we must not slacken our attention to the production of sugar beets, sunflower seeds, potatoes, vegetables and fruit.

To cope with these tasks, we must systematically and carefully engage ourselves in fulfilling the plans set to increase soil fertility and the production of forage protein, to promote farm specialization and interfarm cooperation.

As you know, in his speech at the CPSU Central Committee plenum Comrade L.I. Brezhnev pointed out that it was PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO CONSOLIDATE THE MATERIAL-TECHNICAL BASE OF PROCUREMENT AND TRADE ORGANIZATIONS AS WELL AS PROCESSING INDUSTRIES.

The Ukrainian Council of Ministers Presidium must examine these questions and outline measures to develop branches in charge of the transportation, storage and processing of farm produce.

Questions involving the struggle against losses both in agriculture and other branches must be examined carefully and in a business like way at party meetings and conferences and at sessions of the soviets of people's deputies.

THUS, COMRADES, GREAT NEW TASKS MUST BE ACCOMPLISHED IN AGRICULTURE. WE HAVE A CLEAR-CUT PROGRAM FOR WORK, AND THESE ARE THE DECISIONS OF THE NOVEMBER 1978 CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM. ALL OF US MUST CONSISTENTLY TRANSLATE THEM INTO REALITY.

Comrade, the CPSU Central Committee plenum carefully examined how one of the key national economic tasks--increasing the production of CONSUMER GOODS--is being implemented. Having noted significant progress, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev criticized the USSR Gosplan and ministries for insufficient insistence in pursuing the accelerated development of Group B branches.

In addition, our republic has failed to attain the targets for the 3 years of the 5-year period in the manufacture of consumer goods. The enterprises and associations of Khersonskaya, Krymskaya, Nikolayevskaya, Donetskaya and Kharkovskaya oblasts have missed the targets by significant amounts. [paragraph continues]

A number of machinebuilding and other heavy industry enterprises have been inadequately engaged in the manufacture of these goods. The proportion of high-quality goods is still too low.

Notwithstanding this situation, leaders of ministries Comrades O. Ya. Kasyanenko, N. M. Sanov, I.I. Grunyanskiy and Yu. F. Gayevskiy, leaders of some oblispolkoms, many associations and enterprises have been making poor use of the possibilities available to increase the manufacture, expand variety and improve quality of goods.

Ministries, the Gosplan, party, soviet and economic organs at all levels are obligated to do their utmost to accelrate Group B development in order not only to fulfill, but also to overfulfill the 1979 plan for the manufacture of consumer goods.

Comrades, the tasks to accelerate economic growth and increase efficiency, as is known, can only be accomplished by broad application of SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENTS.

A great deal has been done in our republic to accelrate scientific-technical progress. Our scientists' contribution to this is great. However, the plans for new techniques are still not being fulfilled. A significant number of scientific papers completed in 1971-76 had not been applied early this year. Practically nothing has been done at a number of enterprises to bring about technical improvements in production.

In his speech at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev expressed his concern about a certain lag behind the national economic needs that has begun to emerge in machinebuilding. Sharp criticism was addressed to ministerial leaders accountable for the failure to implement the program adopted in 1973 for the accelerated development of the machinebuilding base in order to significantly reduce unproductive manual labor.

It is imperative to draw the attention of all our cadres, not in words but in deeds, to the problems of technical improvements in production, to comprehensively accomplish tasks for speeding up scientific-technical progress, and to increase the personal responsibility of branch leaders for attaining the rates targeted for increasing labor productivity.

III--Let Us Improve Leadership in the National Economy, Let Us Persistently Accomplish the Tasks for the Swift Transition of the Economy to the Path of Intensive Development

Comrades, the CPSU Central Committee plenum emphasized that, since the range of the economy is growing enormously and its quality is rising, IT IS INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT TO FURTHER IMPROVE THE METHODS OF MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION, TO SWITCH THE ECONOMY OVER TO THE RAILS OF INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT, AND TO BOOST GOOD ORGANIZATION AND COORDINATION AT ALL SECTORS OF COMMUNAL PRODUCTION.

Certainly, the transition to intensive and high-quality factors in management is a complex job that cannot be done overnight.

Notwithstanding the adequate material base available, such a transition calls on our cadres to improve their qualifications, broaden their political and cultural horizons, and even change their psychology, because for decades attention was focused on quantitative indexes in the national economy. Our present possibilities, needs and requirements, however, are different.

We have at our disposal a great army of experienced leaders, great organizers and skilled specialists able to switch management over to new methods.

But one must not overlook the fact that some of the leaders have been failing to insure the accomplishment of tasks linked with increasing effectiveness of production.

The causes are various. Some workers do not match today's requirements because of the level of their competence; the others suffer, as V.I. Lenin put it, from their "unmistakable inertness": They do not kill themselves at work, but take it easy and only take care to keep their heads low.

And even if such would-be leaders are not so numerous, certainly, this negatively affects the accomplishment of the main task: raising production efficiency and improving the quality of work, particularly at lagging enterprises.

Let us take, for example, the thrifty utilization of fixed assets, raw and other materials. No matter how much we speak about this, many tasks are still being accomplished unsatisfactorily.

In a number of branches returns are decreasing. Production capacities at many enterprises have been working inefficiently. For this reason the target this year was missed by many mineral fertilizers, fabrics and other products.

The shift intensity factor of metal processing equipment is rising very slowly, and a significant part of expensive automatic and mechanized assembly lines is not being used to their fullest planned capacity.

In agriculture, a third of the machine and tractor fleet has not been fully engaged, and yields from ameliorated lands in a number of oblasts are too low.

Losses in working time have increased in Volynskaya, Sumskaya and Poltavskaya oblasts, at the enterprises of the Ministry of the Coal Industry and at the projects of the Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry.

Unproductive expenses and losses in scrap are still high. Thus enterprises under the Ukrainian Ministry of the Food Industry incur above-norm losses in sugar beets, vegetables and fruit. The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo has strictly called the attention of Comrade N.M. Sanov, minister, to the conciliatory attitude toward mismanagement and wastefulness. Tasks for economizing fuel and power are not being fully accomplished. Taking all this into account, we are bound to increase exactingness toward cadres in all its phases.

AS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST MANAGEMENT, THE DRIVE TO ECONOMIZE MUST BE CONSISTENTLY IMPLEMENTED IN EVERY BRANCH, IN EVERY PRODUCTION COLLECTIVE AND AT EVERY WORK PLACE.

A real turn to effectiveness, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev emphasized, starts from planning. The CPSU Central Committee plenum required that all planning work be adapted to the growing scopes of the national economy and to the new current requirements in economic development, and that the plan's organizing and mobilizing role be increased.

These requirements can be fully applied to the work of the republic's planning organs. The Ukrainian Gosplan still does not take sufficient pains to find and utilize the reserves available in the national economy, frequently accepts the guidance of ministries and departments, does not nip in the bud violations of plan discipline and the practice of changing the plans.

Planning organs have now been confronted with a very important task: to draft a good 5-year plan and a long-term plan to 1990.

An orientation toward the most up-to-date scientific-technical achievements, toward the final results and toward the most effective and economical ways to attain them must be used as the cornerstone. It is to be taken into account that possibilities of engaging new labor resources are growing dimmer, and the reclamation of natural resources requires increasing capital investments.

The development of the new 5-year plan is a serious and responsible trial for the Gosplan, ministries, departments, party and administrative organs, for all of us.

In essence, this is, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, preparatory work for the next, 26th party congress.

Comrades, when the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session approves the plan, the period of debates and discussions will end. IT IS THE SACRED DUTY OF EVERYONE TO FULFILL THE PLAN, AND AT THAT TO FULFILL IN TIME, AT THE LOWEST COSTS AND WITH THE BEST INDEXES. THIS IS THE EXACT PLANE TO WHICH THE CENTER OF GRAVITY OF OUR ENTIRE ORGANIZATIONAL AND MASS POLITICAL WORK MUST SHIFT.

Tasks stemming from the CPSU Central Committee plenum decisions and from Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's speech are now being discussed at rayon and city party conferences, at party aktiv meetings, at party and workers' meetings.

These tasks must also be examined carefully at the forthcoming oblast conferences.

It is important to scrutinize the progress made in accomplishing the 5-year tasks in a business-like manner at every level, and to define measures to eliminate shortcomings obstructing progress.

In response to the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee plenum and the USSR Supreme Soviet session, labor collectives are assuming socialist pledges and counterplans for the fourth year of the 5-year period. It is imperative to see to it that they reflect as fully as possible tasks for improving effectiveness and quality.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum highly appraised socialist competitions as a tested factor for redoubling our labor successes, as an effective means for the cummunist education of people, and instructed party organizations to improve leadership in competitions and to rid their practice of ballyhoo, jabber and forced "initiative-making."

Advanced experience is a great reserve to raise the effectiveness and to improve the quality of work. Unfortunately, the practice of advanced collectives and innovators still not always finds broad application.

For example, let us take the Zaporozhye experience in eliminating hard manual labor. [paragraph continues]

The oblast's successful coping with the planned task to cut in half the number of workers engaged in manual operations, is overfulfilling the 5-year tasks for increasing labor productivity. This experience is very valuable, but it is being poorly disseminated.

Or let us take another example. In Lvovskaya Oblast, production with a quality mark makes up 18.6 percent, but in Donetskaya, Chernigovskaya, Vinnitskaya and Krymskaya oblasts it only amounts to 6.5-8 percent. Many enterprises have done practically nothing to introduce comprehensive systems for quality control.

Such an important initiative as work without lags from individuals and collectives is not everywhere finding its practical confirmation in deeds. In Voroshilovgradskaya Oblast, it has met with support in all cities and rayons. But the number of lagging enterprises has not decreased, they still make up 15 percent. Such an attitude toward advanced experience and initiative is inadmissible.

AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM LEONID ILICH BREZHNEV EMPHASIZED: "WHOEVER IS AFRAID OF INNOVATIONS, HAMPERS DEVELOPMENT. THIS IS THE POINT TO PROCEED IN ASSESSING BOTH ECONOMIC AND PARTY CADRES."

It is to be noted that some Ukrainian trade union committees are vague and not matter-of-fact enough in organizing socialist competitions and disseminating advanced experience. The Ukrainian trade unions council can be expected to pay greater attention to this matter.

Comrades, the plenum has obligated party Central Committees in union republics, as well as kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, raykoms and basic party organizations to persistently IMPROVE THE FORMS AND METHODS OF ORGANIZATIONAL AND MASS POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

It is necessary to foster the efficiency of all party links and to promote the vanguard role of communists in accomplishing current economic and ideoeducational tasks.

The accomplishment of these tasks is very exacting, and this fact brings management and organizational issues to the forefront of everything because success in any field depends on people's attitude towards it and on their ability to organize the work.

We can see from many examples that, while acting under comparable conditions, some find ways of overcoming the difficulties arising and manage to fulfill the plans. The others, even if at times they have great possibilities at their disposal fail to make full use of these possibilities, plead objective causes at every trifle, assess the accomplishments without criticism, and frequently do their best not to accomplish the set task as well and as quickly as they can, but to protect themselves from responsibility in case of a failure and shift it to the others.

Let me refer to such a fact. On 27 July this year the Kievskiy Gorkom bureau and gorispolkom adopted the joint decision to assign electric welders from city enterprises to assist the subway building trust. Two and a half months passed, but just a little more than a half of the intended number was assigned. However, when the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo at its session criticized the unsatisfactory progress in subway construction, Comrade V.A. Gusev, gorispolkom chairman, addressed a letter to the gorkom saying--I quote: "Please note that individual raykoms have failed to comply with the said decision."

But it was precisely Comrade V.A. Gusev, as chief of the city staff for subway construction, who was obligated to organize the decision's implementation.

THE STYLE OF EVERY LEADER MUST BE: ONE MUST NOT RESTRICT ONESELF TO A STATEMENT OF THE SHORTCOMINGS AND CRITICIZING THEM, BUT MUST WORK OUT CONCRETE MEASURES AND PERSISTENTLY IMPLEMENT THEM.

We must not be indifferent to the fact that individual decisions adopted by the Central Committee, the republic's government or local authorities are not being fully complied with or are not being fulfilled on time.

What is the cause? Perhaps the decisions adopted are aritifical? Apparently it is hard to find this out.

However, on other occasions, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev noted, decisions are being adopted without taking all the possibilities into account, and neither the tasks set nor the deadlines fixed are always feasible. Consequently, it is necessary to take a stricter attitude toward the quality of the proposals made and toward the substantiation of the decisions adopted, to make it clear who is expected to do what and when, and to see to it that the decision is implemented and the implementation checked into.

But the main cause apparently lies in the fact that individual workers take the implementation of the decisions adopted too easily and sometimes irresponsibly.

IN THE INTERESTS OF THE CAUSE, IT IS NECESSARY TO PERSISTENTLY AND POINTEDLY CARRY OUT THE WORK AIMED AT TIGHTENING PARTY AND STATE DISCIPLINE AND AT INCREASING THE PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY OF CADRES, AND TO FIRMLY ERADICATE ALL SORTS OF INFRINGEMENTS.

Unfortunately, the determined struggle against book doctoring and eyewash practices and the abuses of official status has not been launched everywhere.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee has repeatedly examined the state of affairs in the Ukrainian Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry and called Comrade A.A. Sennikov, minister, to account for serious shortcomings and the failure to take resolute steps to eliminate mismanagement and wastefulness. Unfortunately, he failed to draw the appropriate conclusions. In addition, Comrade Sennikov personally violated staff [shtatnaya] and financial discipline and legislation on housing. It is only natural that the Central Committee was unable to employ him in this responsible office any longer.

Very harmful to the cause are the violations of party principles in the selection of cadres, the practice of promoting untried and unworthy persons to leading jobs. Such cases occurred, in particular, in Kievskaya Oblast.

Having scrutinized the progress made in fulfilling the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the Ukrainian CP Central Committee April 1973 plenum, the Central Committee Politburo drew up measures to further improve the selection, distribution and education of cadres. Comparable work must be performed in all obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, ministries and departments.

Party organizations must exert to the full extent the right conceded to them under the party statutes to conrol the soviets' activity, and must be stricter in assessing the work of cadres in the sections entrusted to them.

THE LENINIST REQUIREMENT--TOP BUSINESS ABILITY, CONCRETENESS AND EFFICIENCY--MUST BECOME AN IMMUTABLE LAW FOR ALL OUR PRACTICAL ACTIVITY.

Comrades, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee has instructed the republic's appropriate organs and individual comrades to examine specific problems arising from the decisions of the November CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the instructions set forth in L.I. Brezhnev's speech at the plenum.

We must also do a great deal to explain the plenum decisions and the tasks set by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev. The entire organizing and mobilizing role of our propaganda and agitation must be displayed in this job.

IN HIS SPEECH AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM COMRADE L.I. BREZHNEV SET THE TASK OF RAISING THE LEVEL OF ALL IDEOLOGICAL WORK--OF ITS MILITANCY, EFFECTIVENESS, OPERATIVENESS AND OFFENSIVENESS.

Our people have matured and they are not satisfied with the stereotyped, superficial and mediocre propaganda materials that still occur. Some journalists act in accordance with the old and obsoltete principle: "We write what we see, and what we do not see we do not write." They lack the deep insight into new economic, political and cultural phenomena; they lack the will to actively intervene in life.

The working people are quite right in saying that, in the struggle against bourgeois, bourgeois nationalist and revisionist propaganda, individual periodicals, television and radio broadcasts lack pointed, profound and strong arguments as well as the ability to produce striking and clear facts. It is imperative not only to resolutely rebuff ideology that is hostile to us but also to forestall the schemes of our ideological adversaries and to boost the political vigilance of our people.

Questions concerning the ideological training of communists and all working people must always be in the center of the party organizations' attention. As is known, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has set up a special commission to prepare suggestions on improving ideological and mass political work. Appropriate proposals are also being drawn up in the Ukrainian CP Central Committee.

In January next year, Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy continued, an outstanding event in the history of Ukrainian, Russian, and all the country's people will be commemorated--THE 325TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINE'S REUNION WITH RUSSIA.

Party organizations are bound to make wide use of the jubilee preparations to propagate the outstanding achievements of the Leninist nationality policy pursued by the CPSU, to intensify the patriotic and internationalist education of our people and to boost their political and labor activity.

Agitation and propaganda work must always take into account the fact that more than half our population is young people. Their activity and selflessness in work greatly determined the success of all our plans. Questions of educational work among youth were examined last year at the November Central Committee plenum.

Taking into account the importance of further improvements in youth education, the Central Committee Politburo intends, in the first half of 1979, to carefully scrutinize the progress made in implementing the plenum decisions and to take additional steps to consolidate leadership in Komsomol organizations.

VALUABLE RECOMMENDATIONS ON HOW TO IMPROVE PROPAGANDA WORK, PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION HAVE BEEN SET FORTH, AS IS KNOWN, IN LEONID ILICH BREZHNEV'S BOOKS: "TOPICAL QUESTIONS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF THE CPSU," "MALAYA ZEMLYA" "REBIRTH" AND "THE VIRGIN LAND."

For every communist and every Soviet person these books are a remarkable example of how our ideas must be propagated and how to conduct the entire organizational and political work among the masses.

The guarantee of the successful implementation of all our plans lies precisely in purposeful, daily and painstaking work among people.

Allow me, comrades, to express my confidence that the communists and the working people of the Soviet Ukraine, inspired by the decisions of the November CPSU Central Committee Plenum, will do their utmost to accomplish the tasks for the 10th 5-year period and to translate into reality the 25th CPSU Congress decisions.

RYABOV TOURS INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN TADZHIKISTAN

LD211605Y Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 13 Dec 78 p 1 LD

[Text] TADZHIKTA--During his stay in Tadzhikistan Ya.P. Ryabov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited Yavan 10 December. With great attention he familiarized himself with progress in the construction of an electrochemical plant and with its prospects, with the construction of apartment buildings and cultural and consumer establishments, and with the life and leisure of the working people.

After his tour of inspection a meeting was held. Ways to accelerate the pace of construction and installation work and to raise its quality were discussed. Reports on progress in the construction of the electrochemical plant were delivered by N.M. Ryabov, USSR deputy minister of construction and special installation work; V.P. Yunitskiy, USSR deputy minister of chemical industry; A.P. Parfenkov, USSR deputy minister of construction; and G.Ya. Martirosyan, director of the Yavan electrochemical plant under construction.

It was pointed out that by the will of the Communist Party a new industrial complex and a city with a great future in the development of the chemical industry are being created in the previously uninhabited Yavan Valley. Comrade Ya.P. Ryabov set the construction workers collective the task of accelerating the pace of work and raising its quality.

Ya.P. Ryabov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, also visited the Nurekskaya GES construction site and viewed the republic's capital and the geology museum. V.V. Listov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, was in the republic together with Comrade Ya. P. Ryabov.

Comrade Ya.P. Ryabov was accompanied on his tour of the republic by D.R. Rasulov, first secretary of the Tadzhkistan CP Central Committee; R.N. Nabiyev, chairman of the Tadzhik Council of Ministers; Yu.I. Polukarov, second secretary of the Tadzhikistan CP Central Committee; A.D. Dadabayev, secretary of the Tadzhikistan CP Central Committee; V.Ye. Novichkov, first deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers; and Ye.I. Perventsev, member of the Tadzhikistan CP Central Committee Bureau.

Ya.P. Ryabov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left Dushanbe in the evening of 10 December.

TADZHIK SUPREME SOVIET SESSION MAKES APPOINTMENTS

LD221151Y Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 16 Dec 78 p 1 LD

["Information Report"]

[Excerpts] The 10th session of the Tadzhik Supreme Soviet, ninth convocation, continued its work 15 December in the Supreme Soviet sessions hall in Dushanbe.

The Supreme Soviet heard a report on the ratification of Tadzhik Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees adopted in the period between the 9th and 10th sessions of the Tadzhik Supreme Soviet, ninth convocation, delivered by Deputy I. Rakhimova, secretary of the Tadzhik Supreme Soviet Presidium, and adopted appropriate laws and resolutions on this question.

The Tadzhik Supreme Soviet appointed Kh. Davlyatkadamov Tadzhik minister of higher and secondary specialized education and R. Dadaboyev Tadzhik minister of education.

In accordance with the provision on standing commissions and in connection with Deputy I. Rakhimova's election as secretary of the Tadzhik Supreme Presidium, the session released her from her duties as chairman of the Tadzhik Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Public Education, Science and Culture.

In connection with Deputy B.R. Akhmadaliyev's election as member of the Tadzhik Supreme Soviet Presidium, the session released him from his duties as chairman of the Tadzhik Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Land Reclamation and Water Resources. Deputy Kh. Nasredinov was elected chairman of the commission.

N.A. Kolobova was elected member of the Tadzhik Supreme Court.

On this the 10th session of the Tadzhik Supreme Soviet, ninth convocation, finished its work.

PARTY MEMBER'S DUTIES OVERRIDE CAREER CONSIDERATIONS

LD211009 [Editorial Report LD] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 December 1978 publishes on page 3 a 100-word extract from a letter by O. Avramenko, a young engineering specialist at the Barnual house construction combine, complaining that he was expelled from candidate membership of the party because he decided to change jobs in the face of objections from the combine's party committee.

PRAVDA follows this extract with a 500-word report by correspondent V. Sapov from Barnual stating that, although Avramenko has the right to change jobs, he should be aware of the need for skilled cadres in Siberia and that "On joining the party ranks a man takes on additional commitments conditioned by the CPSU rules and the norms and requirements of party life. One of these is that when he changes his job a communist must weigh the opinion of his comrades in the party organization.

"If the interests of the matter require it, the party meeting, party bureau or party committee can refuse permission for his removal from the party register. In that case the communist has the right to appeal to higher-ranking organs. Willful transfer from one party organization to another is nothing other than a flagrant violation of party discipline."

Sapov states that on appeal Avramenko was reinstated as candidate member of the CPSU, but asks him whether his concern that the affair will affect his career is not secondary to his duty as a communist.

KAPITONOV, SHIBAYEV ELECTED TO CENTRAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION

LD212040Y Moscow TASS in English 1942 GMT 21 Dec 78 LD

[Text] Moscow, December 21, TASS--The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR today endorsed the composition of the Central Elections Commission for elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The polling is scheduled for March 4th.

Aleksey Shibayev, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR, has been elected chairman of the commission. Its 29 members include workers, farmers, engineers, scientists, party and state leaders. They were nominated by general meetings of the personnels of enterprises, party, trade union and public organizations.

They include Zurab Dzneladze, a non-party worker from Georgia, Ivan Kapitonov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Olga Vrabi, a non-party doctor from Moldavia, Mariona Dvaranauskene, a Lithuanian farm-woman, Flyer-Cosmonaut Vladimir Kovalenok and others.

In conformity with the new law "on elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR", representatives of broad sections of the population have been elected to the commission.

Such a composition ensures effective control of the people over the elections and rules out any falsification of their results.

The Central Elections Commission is charged with the preparation and holding of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR throughout the country. It controls the work of elections commissions in the republics and autonomous regions, which organize on the spot elections to both houses of the Soviet parliament--the Soviet of Nationalities and the Soviet of the Union.

The Central Commission sees to it that there are no violations of the electoral law, looks into the complaints of the population. After the voting it receives from the other commissions the results of the count and gives the overall returns of the elections in the country.

UZBEK SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDIUM CHAIRMAN REPLACED

LD211624Y Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Dec 78 LD

[Text] Sessions of the Supreme Soviets of Uzbekistan and Georgia at which laws on the plans and budgets of these republics for 1979 were adopted ended today.

At the session in Tbilisi the deputies also adopted a law on the Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR and a law on the republic's forestry code.

In Tashkent laws were adopted on the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek SSR and on elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet. An organizational matter was also reviewed. Comrade Matchanov has been relieved of his duties as chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet. Deputy Uzmankhodzhayev has been elected to this post.

KAZAKH PAPER REPORTS ELECTIONS OF OBKOM FIRST SECRETARIES

LD221149 [Editorial Report LD] Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian for 10 and 12 December 1978 publish on page 2 a number of reports on oblast party conferences and obkom organizational plenums. KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA for 10 December notes the election of A. K. Protozanov as first secretary of Vostochno-Kazakhstanskiy Obkom. The newspaper for 12 December reports the election of Kh. Sh. Bekturganov as first secretary of Dzhambulskiy Obkom, U. S. Kushekov as first secretary of Guryevskiy Obkom and S. K. Susainov as first secretary of Taldy-Kurganskiy Obkom.

NEW FIRST SECRETARY ELECTED IN NOVOSIBIRSKIY OBKOM

LD221139Y Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 78 P 2 LD

[Correspondent G. Petrov report: Novosibirskiy Obkom Plenun"]

[Text] Novosibirsk, 19 December--A plenum of the Novosibirskiy Obkom took place here today and examined an organizational question. In connection with his retirement on pension F.S. Goryachev was released from his duties as obkom first secretary.

A.P. Filatov, who previously worked as second secretary of the Novosibirskiy Obkom, was elected obkom first secretary.

RESHUFFLE REPORTED IN UKRAINIAN CP AUDITING COMMISSION

AU181125Y Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 13 Dec 78 P 2 AU

[Text] A session of the Ukrainian Auditing Commission was held on 11 December. A. S. Sushchenko was relieved of the duties of Auditing Commission chairman. Yu. F. Gayevskiy was elected chairman of the Ukrainian CP Auditing Commission.

RAYKOM IN GEORGIA REPLACES FIRST SECRETARY

LD211541Y Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 10 Dec 78 P 2 LD

[Text] Vani, 9 December, GRUZINFORM--A Vanskiy Raykom plenum has been held to discuss an organizational question.

The plenum released D. K. Akhmeteli from his duties as Vanskiy Raykom first secretary and Bureau member in connection with his transfer to other work.

N. O. Andriadze was elected raykom first secretary and Bureau member.

D. I. Patiashvili, secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, took part in the work of the plenum and delivered a speech.

BREZHNEV GREETINGS TO ATOMMASH CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

LD181525Y Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Dec 78 LD

[Text] Leonid Ilich Brezhnev has sent greetings to the collectives of construction and assembly organizations, machinebuilding enterprises, planning and construction institutes and all those involved in the construction of the Volgodonsk Atommash works. It states:

Dear comrades: It gives me a feeling of great satisfaction to congratulate you warmly and cordially on an outstanding labor victory--the ahead-of-schedule commissioning of production capacities for modern reactor equipment, capable of generating 3 million kilowatts, at the Volgodonsk Atomash works. The speedy construction of the projects for the first section of the country's largest atomic machinebuilding enterprise is a considerable contribution to the implementation of the program for the accelerated development of atomic power engineering which was outlined by the 25th party congress. The skillful concentration of the work force and means at the decisive areas, the extensive introduction of leading construction methods, and the organization of effective socialist competition have made it possible to successfully implement the plan for construction and assembly work for the first 3 years of the 5-year plan, and to begin producing the basic units of large-unit capacity nuclear reactors. Responsible for all these achievements is the selfless work of the Don toilers, the workers, engineers and technicians of hundreds of industrial enterprises from virtually all the union republics, our glorious Leninist Komsomol, the purposeful organizing and political activities of the Rostovskaya Oblast party organization and also the party and trade union organizations of those collectives taking part in the construction of this works.

I am firmly confident that by responding with practical deeds to the November CPSU Central Committee Plenum decision, those taking part on this all-national construction site will continue to work with honor for the good of our great motherland and will apply all their strength, knowledge and accumulated experience to insure the punctual commissioning of the enterprise's second section and the ahead-of-schedule mastering of its design capacity. I wish you, dear comrades, good health and further great creative victories in implementing the 10th 5-Year Plan tasks.

UKRAINIAN COAL MINISTER RELIEVED OF DUTIES

AU211328Y Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 14 Dec 78 p 4 AU

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved Comrade O.A. Kolesov of the duties of the Ukrainian SSR minister of the coal industry.

Replacement Named

AU211327Y Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 14 Dec 78 p 1 AU

[Excerpt] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves to appoint Nikolay Konstantinovich Grinko Ukrainian SSR minister of the coal industry.

[Signed] A. Vatchenko, chairman, and Ya. Kolotukha, secretary of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Kiev, 13 December 1978

SCIENTISTS TO EVALUATE DATA FROM VENERA-12 DESCENT MODULE

LD211653Y Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1528 GMT 21 Dec 78 LD

[Text] Moscow--Special TASS correspondent Nikolay Zheleznov reports from the Flight Control Center:

The transmission of information on the descent onto the planet Venus of the landing vehicle of the automatic interplanetary station Venera-12 lasted some 3 hours on 21 December. There has never been such a long scientific report from Venus during any of the expeditions to the remote planet. Venera-12 was launched 99 days ago and overtook the Venera-11 station along the way, since it set off toward Venus along a shorter trajectory.

The landing apparatus, which separated from the station 2 days ago, sharply increased its speed as it approached Venus--it rose from 4 to 11 kms per second. Overloads, temperature and pressure rose.

During the last meters before touchdown when the temperature outside was 460 degrees and pressure 88 atmospheres the internal apparatus, surrounded by the heat of Venus, maintained a Moscow room temperature. This enabled the scientific instruments on Venera-12 to function on the surface of the planet for 110 minutes.

At 0800, when the station's orbital module--which acted as a relay in transmitting signals from the descent module to earth--was in the shadow of Venus, the communications session ended. Scientists and specialists met in council to discuss the preliminary results of the scientific reportage from Venus. Scientists are particularly interested in the quantitative correlation between small atmospheric components. An instrument on Venera-12 recorded the content of three argon isotopes in the Venusian atmosphere which gives scientists documentary information for comparative assessments of the evolution of the Earth and Venus.

The descent took place in "inclement weather." The Groza [thunderstorm] instrument recorded fairly frequent electrical discharges in the atmosphere during the descent. One weighty discharge made the surroundings resound for 15 minutes after the device had landed.

In 4 days time, the Venera-12 station will reach Venus.

BRIEFS

SOVIET SHIPS IN ANTARCTICA--Leningrad, December 20, TASS--Two ships from the flotilla of the 24th Soviet Antarctic expedition--the liner "Bashkiria" and the diesel electric ship "Mikhail Somov" approached the ice fields in the area of "Molodyozhnaya" observatory on Enderby Land at the same time. The ships brought simultaneously about 300 scientists and specialists to the ice continent and are setting about landing the polar researchers. This is reported today in a radio message to Leningrad by Professor Yevgeniy Korotkevich, director of the expedition. The researchers who arrived in Antarctica will take the place of their comrades at stations and observatories under the flag of the USSR and will make a series of seasonal journeys and nature observations. A Soviet flotilla consisting of eight transport and research vessels--more than any time in the quarter-of-a-century record of the Soviet exploration of the icebound continent--will be operating near the Antarctic shores this summer. [Moscow TASS in English 1014 GMT 20 Dec 78 LD]